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THE COVER OF THE JOURNAL

THE VOYAGE OF THE CAROLINE

FROM ENGLAND TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AND BATAVIA IN 1827—28

BY

ROSALIE HARE

WITH CHAPTERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF NORTHERN TASMANIA, JAVA, MAURITIUS AND ST. HELENA

BY

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INTRODUCTION

JUST a hundred years ago the *Suffolk Chronicle* of Saturday, February 24th, 1827, contained the following announcement :

" On Tuesday last, by the Rev. C. Fonnereau, Robert Lind Hare, Commander of the East India ship *Eliza Jane* and eldest son of the late Captain Joseph Hare of Ipswich, to Rosalie Ambrose, youngest daughter of the late Surgeon Robert R. Lind of the 43rd regiment of foot."

This announcement possesses an especial interest for us, because, only a few months after their wedding, which took place on February 20th, 1827, at St. Margaret's Church, Ipswich, Mrs. Rosalie Hare accompanied her husband to Tasmania and Java in his ship, the *Caroline*, of which he had recently been appointed the commander ; and she kept the diary, now printed for the first time, which is the basis of this book.

At the time of her marriage Rosalie Hare had not completed her eighteenth year, and probably knew little of the world beyond the immediate surroundings of her Ipswich home. Nor does the young bride seem to have contemplated writing a diary, for the plain vellum-bound volume in which she has set down the story of her travels, although intended for a journal, does not appear to have come into her possession until after she was on board ship.

The names separately inscribed upon its fly-leaf show that the book had previously had two owners, and we learn how it changed hands from the inscriptions :

" Edwd. McVicar,
Ceylon Rifles,
Colombo."

" Presented by Lieutenant McVicar to
T. Moberly,
Chief Officer, *Circassian*,
November 29th, A.D. 1826,
and afterwards of the *Caroline*, July 1827."

It is evident that Mr. Moberly in turn presented it to the captain's wife. It may even have had an owner before it came into the hands of Lieutenant McVicar, for the regimental badge which adorns the cover is not that of the Ceylon Rifles, but of the old Board of Ordnance—"three cannons in pale, as many cannon balls in chief"—the design originally worn by the Royal Artillery, and now, according to Mr. Durand, incorporated in the badge of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps. It is possible that either Lieutenant McVicar or his friend Chief Officer T. Moberly, or that earlier owner whose badge is still so conspicuous, may have attempted to record their own experiences, for some of the opening pages are missing, having been carefully removed.

A poem addressed to her husband by Rosalie Hare and a sonnet to one of her friends now fill the leading pages. They are followed by two contributions, presumably in Mr. Moberly's handwriting. The first is a poem entitled "Mutual Hearts," copied from the *Australian* newspaper of September 6th, 1826.

The second consists of some eulogistic verses in memory of Commodore Sir James Brisbane, R.N., who died in Sydney, and these also are taken from an issue of the same paper, dated December 25th, 1826. Blank pages follow. But the book was destined, nevertheless, to fulfil its original purpose as a journal, for we find at the other end of it the title-page: "A voyage from England to Van Diemen's Land and Batavia in the ship *Caroline* of Calcutta in 1827-28 by Rosalie Hancorn Ambrose Hare."

A perusal of the closely-written pages succeeding the title-page will show that Mrs. Hare was industrious and observant, and that it was her very keen desire that those for whose benefit she kept a diary (and she tells us that they were her brothers and sisters at home in Ipswich) should be able to enjoy the sights that she had seen as thoroughly, and follow the events of the voyage in the *Caroline* as closely, as it lay in her power to describe them. The journal also shows us (and one must remember that she was writing to those nearest and dearest to her) that she was deeply religious and a most

devoted wife, while her husband seems to have returned her affection in no less a degree.

Rosalie Hare does not trouble us with many figures of latitude and longitude. Nor does she, during the ship's progress, often mention the nearest land, so that at times we are left to imagine the exact route by which her husband navigated his ship. Doubtless he intended to pursue the track usually taken by sailing vessels bound to Van Diemen's Land via the Cape of Good Hope, when not calling at Rio, but westerly winds compelled him to follow a more easterly course, and to keep nearer in with the African coast.

Notwithstanding a few omissions concerning the route, which *The Times* and *Lloyd's List* have enabled us to rectify, the writer of the journal has told a most interesting story and has recorded facts which, had she not jotted them down, would have been for ever lost to us. She has described how the *Caroline* was stopped by pirates in mid-ocean ; she has left vivid sketches of Cape Town ; of the newly-formed settlement at Circular Head, North-Western Tasmania ; of the many different types that inhabited Batavia ; as well as of Port Louis (Mauritius) and the Island of St. Helena, then the burial-place of the first Napoleon. Readers of her diary will find that her impressions of these places have been pleasantly and concisely written.

Most interesting is the short description of her visit to the tomb of Napoleon, which cannot fail to appeal to our readers ; and the simple details that she has given compensate for its brevity, for she stood at the grave of the great soldier of France while his body still lay in its resting-place on the island. Captain and Mrs. Hare saw, at the head of the grave, the pots of heartsease placed on either side by Madame Bertrand, and they also had received an order for pieces of the willow tree that shaded the tomb. One wonders whether these cuttings were brought to England alive, and if so, where they were transplanted. In those days ships' passengers carried these far afield, and we know that some of them were taken to Australia and reared there.

It was evidently Mrs. Hare's intention to write the early

history of each country touched at by the *Caroline*. But life on board ship, or a hurried visit on shore to a friend's house, was hardly the time or place to do this ; and at last a serious illness compelled her to curtail the entries in her journal. The author of this book, therefore, believing that there are many who, having read the diary, may care to know more about the seas through which the *Caroline* sailed and the countries visited by Mrs. Hare, has endeavoured to give some further account of them, and in particular, to relate how Europeans first found their way into those distant lands.

There is a brief glimpse of the first settlement made by the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope ; the story of the discovery of Northern Tasmania by British seamen is told ; the surveys of the north-west corner of the island by officers of the Van Diemen's Land Company (which chartered the *Caroline*) are described, having been condensed from the explorers' own diaries. These explain what had occurred at Circular Head before Captain Hare's ship arrived there. They show how the land was won and the way prepared for settlement. They tell of perils encountered and hardships borne. They prove once again that Exploration is only another word for Endurance when men are fighting fatigue, hunger, and death ; when the will—the determination—to win through is all that avails.

The arrival of the *Caroline* added a fresh page to the history of the settlement, and was the means of implanting sturdy British stock amid the rugged wildernesses and grassy slopes of Tasmania's north-west coast.

The extracts from the old Portuguese, English, and Dutch voyages, as well as those relating to Java's ancient days which have been included, may prove a useful addition to Mrs. Hare's historical remarks on Java, for these begin with an account of the Dutch taking possession of Batavia. The Portuguese, however, had preceded the Dutch and were the first Europeans to arrive in the island ; they were followed by the English, who for years held factories there. And no story of Java would be complete without some reference to these pioneers.

The story of the arrival of the English in Java affords an

opportunity for mentioning visits of Drake and Cavendish. Drake's presumed route from Ternate to Java has been outlined, partly from the accounts of his voyage and partly from a study of the maps upon which his path is shown.

To make the story more interesting and to illustrate the course of the *Golden Hind* more clearly, a portion of her track has been reproduced from the Molyneux Globe. This famous globe, which is preserved in the Middle Temple Library, was drawn by Emery Molyneux and printed by Hondius in 1592—the very year, we are told, when Drake spent much of his time at the Court of Queen Elizabeth ; and it would seem highly probable that he himself examined this reproduction of his track shortly after it was made.

The sketches of the early history of Mauritius and St. Helena may help to enlarge Mrs. Hare's account of those islands, which is necessarily somewhat brief owing to the poor state of her health, and the shortness of her stay at both places, more particularly at St. Helena.

To all who have rendered assistance in the task of publishing the journal of this old voyage the author returns her sincere thanks. She is deeply indebted to the Treasurer and the Librarian of the Middle Temple for their permission to reproduce a portion of the Molyneux Globe and the extract from the Minute Book, as well as to Mr. W. G. Perrin, O.B.E., of the Admiralty Library, Mr. Hugh Wright, of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Mr. Ogle, of the Ipswich Library, and the Director and Secretary of the Van Diemen's Land Company for valuable aid, which has enabled her to give details from the original journals and many interesting particulars relating to the voyage.

The charts of Tasmania are preserved at the Admiralty, and were photographed by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. They have been found difficult to reproduce ; they are worn and faded ; the handwriting on some is hard to decipher ; the outlines of the coasts have become dim, but the fact that they were drawn by the first British seamen to survey the newly-discovered territory makes their publication very necessary. In some instances the log-

books of which they formed part have disappeared. Only these faded maps remain to testify to the work and bear witness to the zeal of the men who strove to plant the flag of the Motherland in distant seas—men who opened the way into a new field of discovery and helped to win for their country a great heritage.

THE VOYAGE OF THE CAROLINE

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

FROM ENGLAND TO TABLE BAY

THE *Caroline* of Calcutta was a very fine teak ship. According to *Lloyd's Register* she was a brig of 330 tons burden built at Calcutta in 1825, so that at the time of sailing she was comparatively new. Her owner was Mr. Chapman. After Captain Hare had been appointed to command her she was chartered by the Van Diemen's Land Company to convey passengers, live stock, and stores to Van Diemen's Land (as Tasmania was then called). She was hired only to sail thus far in performance of the Company's contract; for the voyage to Batavia appears to have been taken in the interests of her owner, and it may be inferred that from the time of her leaving Tasmania the vessel's connexion with the Van Diemen's Land Company practically ceased. Yet it was the voyage to Circular Head that made the name of the *Caroline* memorable and gave her a place among the pioneer ships of our Empire.

In addition to sixty passengers, mostly emigrants from Yorkshire, the *Caroline* conveyed to Tasmania English shorthorns and horses and over 300 Saxony sheep. The cattle and horses, as well as the sheep, were intended for new settlements then being formed by the Van Diemen's Land Company on the north coast of Tasmania.

Captain Hare left the port of London about June 1st, 1827, for Hamburg, to embark the sheep which had been selected in Saxony by Mr. Swaine, who was an expert in such matters. They were of the fine-wooled type and were chosen with

great care upon their native hills. While being driven across the Prussian border they were subjected to a rigid examination—in case of their being infected by disease—and on their march along the Elbe and during the voyage down that river no trouble or expense was spared to ensure their safe arrival. They were fed on the finest hay and the best oats, and every precaution was taken when they were put on board the *Caroline*, yet three of the sheep died from foot-rot before they left German soil, and two others after reaching Hull. The Scotch shepherds who had charge of the flock were of opinion that they were healthy and sound when they left Saxony, and that the disease must have been communicated to them by some pasture on which they had fed or rested for the night on their march down the Elbe.

With her valuable burden the *Caroline* sailed for Hull, where she remained ten days. In taking these sheep to Tasmania the *Caroline* conferred a permanent boon on the colonists, and it is maintained that the wool of this type has proved more precious than gold to those southern lands. The cattle embarked at Hull were equally valuable. The Court of Directors of the Van Diemen's Land Company had requested Mr. White of Harelaw to obtain some "of the polled or shorthorn (Teeswater) breed" for the new colony.[1] Five cows of this English breed, one pure shorthorn bull (Red Comet), and several horses were also placed on board the ship during her stay.

The following instructions for the voyage were issued to Captain Hare by the Company before he sailed: "On leaving the port of Hull you will proceed to Circular Head in Basses Strait . . . and being arrived near it you will hoist the Company's signal which is two black balls each about three feet in diameter at the main. On reaching the anchorage and going on shore you will deliver the despatches with which you are charged to Edward Curr, Esqr., the Company's agent. You are aware the Company have contracted with the owners of the *Caroline* for casks to hold 80 tons of water requisite

[1] The Teeswater breed "was the foundation upon which Charles and Robert Colling built up the improved shorthorn."

for the livestock alone during the voyage. This water you have taken on board. . . . I give you calculations for 150 days . . . The directors therefore consider that it cannot be necessary for you to touch at any intermediate port and in particular object to Rio de Janeiro on account of loss of time and to the Cape of Good Hope on account of the heavy expense. I have caused a copy of the scale of victualling the Company's passengers to be posted in the people's apartments in order that all may be informed of the quantity of provisions issued to them. . . . Wishing you a prosperous voyage . . .

" Signed (on behalf of the V.D.'s Land Company)

J. Inglis."

The *Caroline* took her departure from Hull on July 17th, Mr. Inglis, the managing director of the Company, being among those who wished the settlers good-bye. Two days later he wrote to his colleagues : " I left the *Caroline* at midday just on the point of sailing," and then proceeded to tell the grave news that a disease had broken out among the sheep. Little wonder that the Company received this information with dismay. By exercising great care, however, the shepherds on board managed to keep the disease well under control, although thirty-nine sheep died before reaching the Cape.

Notwithstanding the instructions issued by the Company not to touch at any intermediate port, Captain Hare was forced to call at the Cape of Good Hope for water, probably for the stock, and it may have been that the calculations did not allow sufficient for the long voyage to Tasmania. The daily allowance for the animals was as follows : " 8 horses, 4 gallons ; 5 cows and one bull, 3 gallons ; 305 sheep at one quart apiece. The daily allowance for 7 dogs and waste 5 gallons." The quantity of water issued to each passenger is not recorded.

On making her way down the English coast the *Caroline* met with a slight mishap, grounding on a sand-bank off Sandwich. She was successfully floated and came to an anchorage in the Downs, where after a short delay she finally bade England farewell. On July 24th, at 5 p.m., with light westerly winds, she began her voyage to Van Diemen's Land. On August 9th

she came off Brest, but possibly passed there during the night, for Mrs. Hare states that no land was sighted by the vessel after leaving England until she had made her first port of anchorage.

From this time forward the captain's young wife seems to have evinced the keenest interest in all that was happening around her on board. Among the emigrants who were going to Circular Head there were some very rough characters from Yorkshire, and sometimes their unruly ways caused her annoyance, which she does not trouble to conceal. She records all the passing events with great clearness and with a youthful charm, just as a girl of nineteen would write, and takes us into the midst of everyday life on board a sailing ship a hundred years ago.

We are told of the refractory passenger who used mutinous language to the Captain and in the end was put in irons; of the unjust steward who adulterated the provisions of the passengers and was compelled in consequence to deliver up the keys of the storeroom; and of the intemperate Mrs. N—— who in a quarrel with her husband severely wounded him in the arm with a penknife and made herself so objectionable to everybody that a cabin had to be built for her on the quarter-deck; and even this she tried to break down!

Such incidents, disquieting as they seemed to the rest of the passengers, were but mildly exciting in comparison with events that were shortly to follow. The *Caroline* crossed the Tropic of Cancer sailing in the direction of the Cape Verde Islands, and on Friday, August 24th, the west point of San Antonio, the northernmost and westernmost of the group, bore fifteen leagues southward of the ship.

San Antonio lies in 18° N. latitude, being seven miles from St. Vincent, from which it is divided by a channel which runs from S.W. to N.E. There are two high mountains upon the island, one of which is nearly as high as the Peak of Tenerife and usually enveloped in clouds.

While she was rounding this group the *Caroline* within the space of a few days sighted many ships, both outward and homeward bound, and spoke most of them. The last

of the passing ships vanished over the horizon, and the English brig steered a lonely course southward.

Westerly winds then compelled her to stand far to the eastward. This brought the *Caroline* to within a short distance of Sierra Leone, and she came right into the zone frequented by slavers bound to and from the West African Coast. As she drew nearer the Equator, flying-fish and tropic birds similar to those seen and described by Captain Cook surrounded the ship's track, and possibly those wonders of the deep interested the unruly passengers, for they gave no further trouble. The weather was fair and all was quiet on board.

On Sunday, September 9th, the monotony of the voyage was broken by the appearance, some five miles to leeward, of a large brig flying the French ensign and pennant. Captain Hare may have felt suspicious of this vessel, which had suddenly appeared in his wake, for he kept on his course and made no sign that he wished to speak her.

At two o'clock, however, the strange ship tacked and stood directly after the *Caroline*, and then—to the dismay of the passengers—fired her weather-bow gun. When he saw her thus rapidly bearing down upon him, Captain Hare hove the main-yard aback and calmly awaited events.[1] To escape from his pursuer was impossible. Not only was she a larger ship, but it was seen that she was heavily armed, and manned by a great number of seamen, who filled her deck boats, tops, and cross-trees. Of this meeting with pirates Mrs. Hare in her diary gives a thrilling account.

The Atlantic, at this time, was infested with sea-robbers, and the nervousness shown by the *Caroline's* people was very natural. Tales, more horrible than usual, of cruelty shown to passengers on board the plundered vessels were reaching England during the years 1827 and 1828. It is a difficult matter to try to prove the identity of the pirate, although such a ship as Mrs. Hare describes could hardly have long passed unnoticed or escaped the attention of contemporary writers conversant with the deeds of pirates. Yet a study of the records reveals

[1] *The Times* of January 23rd, 1828, states that the *Caroline* was stopped in 3° N. and 13° W.

no vessel of 350 tons and carrying 300 men (the number stated by both Captain and Mrs. Hare) in these seas.

Fortunately the date is too early to allow of its being Benito de Soto, who was tried and put to death at Gibraltar on January 25th, 1830. Had it been his ship, which, a few months later, showed such great activity in the Atlantic, we might have had to tell a different story; for, even among pirates, with all their callous regard for human life, Soto occupies a place by himself. But according to Spanish official records his ship, the Brazilian brigantine *Defensor de Pedro*, was at this time still under the command of Don Pedro Mariz de Sousa Sarmento, her rightful owner, and did not sail from Rio de Janeiro for the African coast, where she was seized by Soto, until November 22nd, 1827, at which date the *Caroline* was safely at anchor in Table Bay.

There is just a possibility, making allowance for any inaccuracies, that the pirate which held up Captain Hare's ship was the Spanish brig *Midas*, of 400 tons. Although when captured in June, 1829, by Lieutenant Sherer of the Royal Navy, she mounted only eight guns, it was found that she had been pierced for twenty, and while there was a crew of only fifty-three men on board it was evident that she had previously carried a much larger number. Or it may have been the Colombian brig of eighteen guns (the exact number stated by Captain Hare) mentioned in *Lloyd's List* of June 1st, 1827, as having captured to the westward of Almeria a Spanish guarda-costa of ten guns. Two Colombian brigs were particularly troublesome in the Atlantic during 1827–29, and usually sailed in company. The two ships are said to have been wrecked in a violent storm on an island in the West Indies, where the natives, who had met with merciless treatment at the hands of the pirates, recognized the men as they swam ashore and put them to death.

After this unpleasant adventure the voyage was resumed in fine weather and calm airs that lasted for over a fortnight. The winds being more favourable, the *Caroline* was now able to steer a more westerly course, and the longitude mentioned in *Lloyd's List* shows that she passed to the westward of

St. Helena. Possibly she also wished to avoid Ascension, which at this time was a well-known pirate resort.

On October 1st, in latitude 30° S, and longitude 32° W., a French warship was sighted with another vessel in tow. When they were first seen the passengers were filled with alarm, for the warship bore a close resemblance to the Spanish pirate. Mr. Hare does not give her name, but according to *Lloyd's List* she was the French brig-of-war *Alcibiades*.[1] She was towing the disabled vessel, which had sprung a leak, to Rio de Janeiro, and on arriving there the French commander duly reported his meeting with the *Caroline*.

The *Alcibiades* and her helpless companion resumed their voyage, and again the *Caroline* was left alone. In making her way southwards towards the Cape she was surrounded by Cape pigeons (*Daption capensis*), which are prettily marked birds about the size of a dove; giant albatrosses, the largest of sea-birds; and petrels of all sorts and sizes. These followed the ship persistently and never seemed to weary in their flight. The weather then changed and grew colder. Winds blew tempestuously and the *Caroline* had to battle against hard gales and high seas until November 8th, when Table Mountain was sighted. On Sunday, November 11th, she dropped anchor in Table Bay.

Here, beneath Table Mountain in the background, with the Devil's peak on one side and the Lion Mount on the other, the English brig remained at anchor for a fortnight. "These mountains," says a modern writer, are all "unchangeable save by untold ages of time. As Antonio de Saldanha, first of all Europeans to enter the bay, saw them in 1503 and as they are under our eyes to-day, so were they seen by Commander Van Riebeck who came there to colonise Cape Colony on that Sunday in April, 1652." [2]

At the date of the *Caroline's* coming the Cape of Good Hope belonged to Britain. The Dutch were the first to establish

[1] The following note is taken from *Lloyd's List* for December 14th, 1827: "Vessels spoken: *Caroline* London to Van Diemen's Land 30th September in lat. 30° S., long. 32° W. by the *Alcibiades* French B.W., arrived at Rio Janeiro."

[2] Theal's *History of South Africa*, 1888.

themselves there in 1652, when Jan Van Riebeck, after a voyage of 104 days from Texel, brought his three ships—the *Dromedaris*, the *Reiger*, and the *Goede Hoop*—into Table Bay and founded the settlement. His scheme to form a colony at the Cape had been approved by the all-powerful Dutch East India Company, and they appointed him its Governor. Van Riebeck erected a fort at the foot of Table Mountain on the south side of Table Bay and surrounded it by a moat ; within this he laid out a large garden and built the first house—a building roughly constructed of planks—where Cape Town now stands.

Many went from Europe to settle at the Cape, and in process of time the population increased and settlers spread themselves from Saldanha Bay along the coast to Mossel Bay. Only a few natives were seen by the Dutch at their first coming, and these they called Beachrangers. Two large tribes, however, possessing herds of cattle and sheep, visited Table Bay and its neighbourhood periodically, and gradually the Dutch met with the more inland natives, with whom they began to carry on a lucrative trade.

One hundred and twenty years later, when Cook first called there, Cape Town consisted of about a thousand houses neatly built of brick whitened outside, the roofs being covered with thatch. The streets were wide and in the main street [1] there was a canal, on each side of which grew a row of oak trees affording a pleasant shade. The most attractive feature of the town was the Company's garden, where fruit and flowers from different parts of the globe had been introduced. It was watered by streams that flowed into it from Table Mountain. At one end there was a paddock where ostriches and zebras and a number of rare and curious animals were kept in captivity.

In 1795 the Cape was taken by the British, but it was restored to the Batavian Republic in the short peace of 1802. In 1806 it again fell under British rule and was confirmed as a British possession at the general peace of 1814. Great Britain had long known the value of this half-way house. Since the

[1] The Heerengracht, or Gentlemen's Walk.

days of the first founding of the East India Company, and even earlier, British ships had called at the Cape. During the Dutch occupation the expeditions of Anson, Byron, Wallis, Cook, Bligh, and Phillip had all refreshed themselves there. The port became doubly useful when the colonization of Australia was being carried out, and the Cape, as well as India and Batavia, contributed largely to the support of the first British colonists in the southern continent.

While the *Caroline* was refreshing, Captain Hare and his wife were invited to stay on shore with some old friends. Mr. Heideman being part owner of the *Eliza Jane*, the ship of which Captain Hare had previously held the command.

Everything new and strange throughout this visit to her husband's old friends appealed to Mrs. Hare. The rich botany of the Cape was a revelation, and when we recall the adage of the old botanists, *semper aliquid novi ex Africa*, we can understand that the flowers there proved attractive.

Travellers are ever fascinated with the town itself, with its fort and batteries, its Government gardens, and its beautiful walks. Here were to be seen people, black and white, of almost every nationality. The many different types seem to have surprised Rosalie Hare, for at that time, or some eighteen months later,[1] Cape Colony included, among its 130,000 inhabitants, 50,000 white people, 32,000 Hottentots, 32,000 slaves, and 4,000 free blacks.

Slaves had first been brought to the Cape in the days of Jan Van Riebeck, principally from Madagascar or the mainland of Africa. Mozambique, a noted centre of the Portuguese slave trade, supplied Cape Colony with many slaves. Later they were brought from Ceylon, India, and the Malay States. Officers of ships and private individuals regarded them as the most profitable objects of trade and barter. Previous to 1658 there were only ten or twelve slaves at the Cape; but, as labourers were needed, gradually more and more were brought there, until in 1753 there were more slaves than Europeans in South Africa. The old Dutch laws, which had given freedom to slaves professing the Christian religion, by the middle of

[1] When the *Chanticleer* came there.

the eighteenth century had come to be disregarded, and baptized negroes were frequently kept in the bonds of slavery.

When in 1807 Great Britain abolished the slave trade in British ships and by British subjects to and from any part of the coast of Africa, the decline of slavery at the Cape may be said to have begun. Settlers were also prohibited from employing slaves by an order of Earl Bathurst issued in June, 1821, in which it was to be made a condition of all grants to settlers in Albany and of future grants in the territory north of Albany that free labour only was to be used. Yet slaves were still employed in Cape Colony until the Imperial Government passed a Bill in August, 1833, which provided that, after December 1st, 1834, slavery was to cease; and "on that day, in fact, slavery did cease to exist in Cape Colony."[1] Among the slaves that Mrs. Hare saw at Table Bay there were undoubtedly a number who had gained their freedom, for at this time about 120 slaves were emancipated yearly in Cape Town alone.

But it is time for us to read this story in her own words.

[1] Theal

A

Journal of a Voyage

from

England

to

Van Diemens Land and Batavia

in the

Ship Caroline of Calcutta R L Hare

AD 1827-8

by

Rosalie Hancorn Ambrose Hare

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JOURNAL OF THE CAROLINE

PART I—HULL TO TABLE BAY

Departure from Hull

July 17th, 1827.—We began our voyage towards Van Diemen's Land, having on board sixty passengers for the Company's [1] settlement at Circular Head (Van Diemen's Land).

. . . . .

Sunday, July 22nd.—The wind falling off and a strong tide, the ship grounded on the Brake Sand. Captain engaged a Deal boat to assist in getting her off. At 7 o'clock, the water flowing, the ship came off; we then sailed for the Downs.

. . . . .

Tuesday, July 24th.—Sailed from the Downs at 5 p.m. with light westerly winds.[2]

. . . . .

Wednesday, August 8th.—A—— B——, passenger, intoxicated and using mutinous language, the Captain ordered him to be put in irons. On attempting which he was rescued by four of the the passengers, who took him below, when he declared there was a conspiracy in the ship and it should soon be seen. The Captain, Surgeon, Chief and Second Officers armed themselves,

[1] The Van Diemen's Land Company.

[2] Van Diemen's Land Company's *Records*.

handcuffed A—— B——, and kept him a prisoner on the poop, during which time he threatened the lives of the Captain and Surgeon. At 9 in the evening he was liberated on his promise of future good behaviour.

. . . . .

Thursday, August 9th.—Spoke the French brig *Jeune Emilie* off Brest and gave them the longitude by chronometer.

. . . . .

Thursday, August 16*th.*—The Steward delivered up the keys of the store-room for wasting and adulterating the provisions of the passengers. Left the cabin and threatened revenge on the First Officer.

. . . . .

Monday, August 20*th.*—Mr. and Mrs. N——, passengers, quarrelling with each other and declaring their intention to murder if possible. The husband was persuaded to continue on deck all night and his own clothes being torn, was supplied with others. At 9 in the morning the Surgeon was informed that Mrs. N—— had inflicted a severe wound on his arm with a pen-knife, declaring that if he again came near her she would, as she before intended, "cut his throat." This she was prevented doing by the interference of one of the bailiffs. She was put in irons on the poop, where she continued threatening the lives of those who had confined her. There was now a cabin built for her on the quarter-deck. On entering it she declared she "would not leave it the whole

voyage," it being the most comfortable place she had been in, and she would reward the carpenter with her grog, should she again receive it, for making it so well. The next day, however, she began to break the door of her cabin in order to take vengeance. Breaking the venetian blind in pieces, she took two of the sticks to strike the Captain and Surgeon. Her child at her request was permitted to sleep with her, but she frightened him so much that he dare not continue in her cabin.

. . . . .

Friday, August 24th.—Spoke the American ship *Garonne* [or *Gavorne*], bound for St. Salvadore. Mrs. N—— still in irons. West point of St. Antonio south 15 leagues.

. . . . .

Sunday, August 26th.—Spoke the Dutch ship *Gesersters*,[1] bound for Batavia from Rotterdam. Divine Service.

. . . . .

Thursday, August 30th.—Spoke the *Patriot* of Salem, from Gibraltar to Sumatra. Squally.

Friday, August 31st.—Spoke the ship *Othello* of Bristol, Captain Swainson of Calcutta, bound to Liverpool. Received from them a present of sugar and rice. Mrs. N—— liberated on promise of better behaviour in future and sorrow for the past and reconcilement with her husband.

. . . . .

[1] Probably *Gezusters*, the name borne by three small islands in the Straits of Sunda.

Stopped by a Pirate

Sunday, September 9th.—A brig passed about five miles to leeward with a French Ensign and Pendant flying at two o'clock in the afternoon in our wake, tack'd and stood after us. She fired her weather-bow gun. Hove our main-yard aback. When she came up, along our leeside, hailed us in English, and ordered our boat with all the ship's papers on board immediately, and then fired a shot round us on our weather-bow. Mr. Drybrough, First Officer, went on board her with our papers.[1] On going up the gangway he discovered the crew at their quarters, each armed with a cutlass, brace of pistols, and long Spanish knife. Two men with drawn cutlasses conducted him in silence to the companion and then ordered him below. On going into the cabin he was surrounded by ten or twelve men, each having a cutlass in one hand and a pistol in the other. The French colours were taken down and Spanish hoisted. We now began to feel anxious lest she should keep our officer—as is often the case. The Captain [of the pirate] on coming out of his state-room questioned Mr. Drybrough through an interpreter as follows :

"Have you the ship's papers ?"

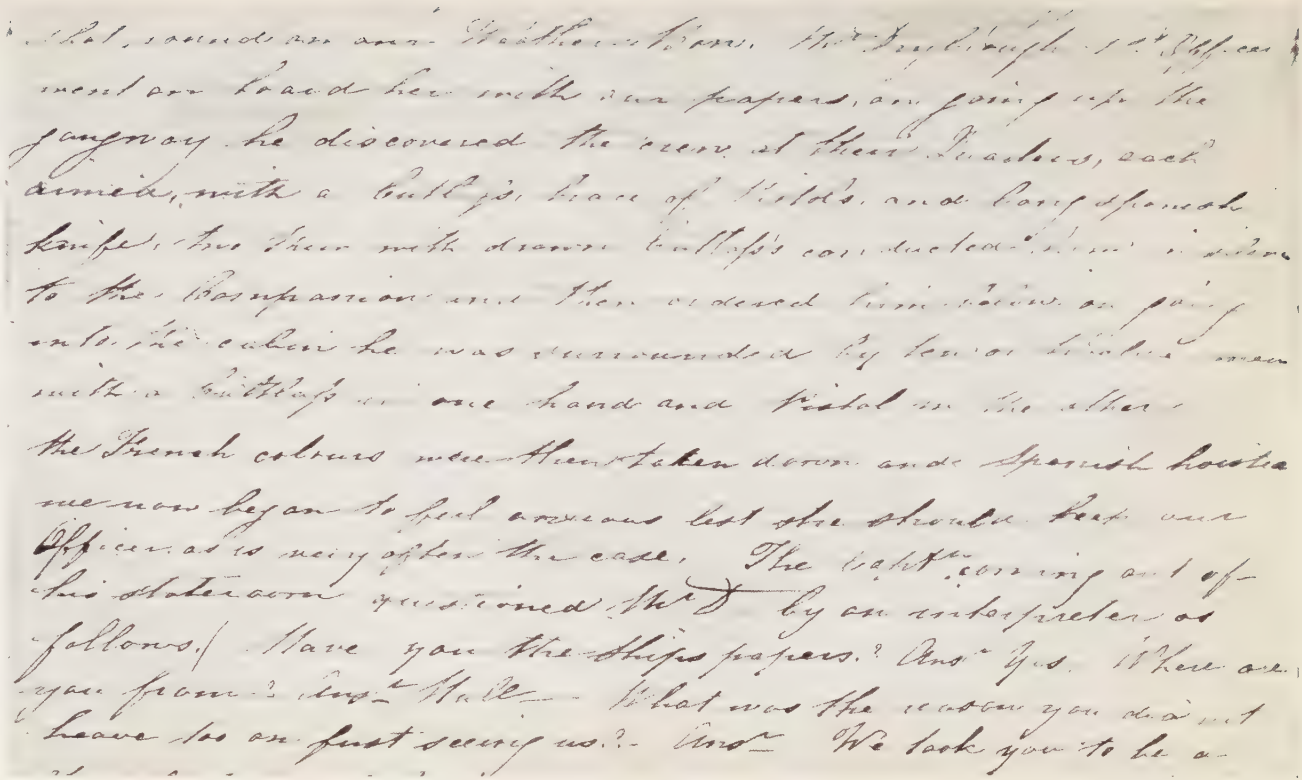
"Yes."

"Where are you from ?"

"Hull."

"What was the reason you did not heave-to on first seeing us ?"

[1] Lat. 3° N., long. 13° W.



A LEAF FROM MRS. HARE'S JOURNAL

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" We took you to be a French man-of-war and supposed if you wanted to speak us you would fire a gun."

At this he appeared displeased and said to those around him in Spanish, which Mr. Drybrough understood very well but did not make known to them fearing they might then keep him :

" I do not know what I shall do to this fellow for not heaving-to before." Question to Mr. Drybrough :

" Of what does your cargo consist ? "

" Cattle."

" Nothing else ? "

" Nothing but sheep and cows."

" Do any of the cows give milk ? "

" No ! They are too young."

(Here he remarked that there was no part of the cargo of any use to them.)

" Have you any coarse canvas on board ? "

" I don't know if there is any to spare."

" How came you so far to the eastward ? "

" From long continuance of westerly winds."

He then got his log-book, and at the head of each page, Mr. Drybrough saw Sylad or Singlad [1] No. 13.

He ordered Mr. Drybrough to sign a paper, signifying that it was a declaration that he had not hurt us and telling him that he must sign the names of himself and his captain. When he had signed the paper he was ordered to go on board his own ship and return with one bolt of canvas and

[1] The Spanish word *singlar*, past participle *singlado* (nautical), means to sail daily with a fair wind on a direct course.

two sheep, the captain saying he would send us two better in return, remarking aside that we might think ourselves well off (which we certainly did).

He repeated to Mr. Drybrough: "Remember we have not injured you; we have not hurt you."

Mr. Drybrough, on taking the articles ordered to them, saw the marines discharge their small arms, which, with the long guns, had been pointed at us all the time. Our ship having forged on end they filled their main-yard and again placed themselves on our weather-bow in a menacing manner. We of course sent all that was demanded finding resistance would be perfectly useless, as she mounted 18 great guns, Spanish 12-pounders, and appeared to have 300 men. She was about 350 tons, flush-deck and billet-head. The men filled the deck boats, tops, and cross-trees.

There was no uniform or mark of distinction among them (the officers); the marines had on red caps made of cloth four square, similar to those of collegians. There were several Englishmen on board! Mr. Drybrough could not learn the ship's name or any particulars (although he asked) except that they were going on a cruise. Our officer noticed 16 or 18 trunks lashed with white line lying carelessly about the deck of the after cabins with arms of all kinds. They seemed to have plenty of provisions of all kinds on board, having five or six hands employed in baking. They sent us two sheep [1] and a small quantity

[1] The two black rams given in exchange for two of the Saxony sheep were thought later to be of Spanish breed.

they wanted women for they were willing to leave their husbands. The Surgeon seeing so large a number of men feared they might send for him but appeared in no apprehension before the passengers determined to buy his life with his pistols or sell it dear as possible, and what were my feelings oh they were dependance on the God of all might and thankfulness to him who had brought me either to fall with the dear partner of my life or with him to give thanks for our deliverance. Nor was my mind alienated by distance from my beloved Sisters & Brothers, I prayed for every blessing upon them and theirs, and wished oh how fervently once more to behold creatures so dear by every tie to our hearts to thank them for their care to assure them of our love, we were both enabled in a particular degree to wait the event with some hope and much resignation quarrels amongst our people were quickly forgotten and

A LEAF FROM MRS. HARE'S JOURNAL

of wine which we had thrown overboard fearing all might not be correct. The crew had some wine and biscuit, which they ate and found good.

Her sails were much worn and rigging weather-beaten. There were drunken men lying all about her decks. On making sail she told us now we might go where we liked and enquired if we wanted anything.

Never can this day be forgotten! The mercy of God is shown us in a most especial manner! That day, the morning of which saw our little band (consisting of 80 men, women, and children) bid fair to decrease its numbers; but His Hand, which is ever stretched out to us, said to the enemy: "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." Nor was this the least of all His mercies—the calmness with which my beloved husband was enabled to direct us. To him all eyes were turned. Not that alarm or despair was the order of the day. One woman declaring that she would go below with her five little bairns and trust to God.

Our passengers (with the exception of a few families), consisting of the lowest class of Yorkshire people, showed their true character. They who had daily denied the power of God now supposed there certainly was a God, while others declared that on the Captain alone depended their fate. . . . The Surgeon,[1] seeing so large a number of men on board the pirate, feared that they might send for him, but appeared determined to buy his life with his pistols or sell it as dear as possible. And what

[1] Mr. Hutchinson.

were my feelings? They were dependence on the God of all might, and thankfulness that He had brought me hither, either to fall with the dear partner of my life or to give thanks with him for our deliverance. . . . One shepherd from Scotland reminded me of the shepherd who shall "carry lambs in his bosom."[1] He went below to watch his sheep and begged that none of his might be taken, with tears in his eyes, caressing them one by one.

No sooner did it appear that danger was over than vows were forgotten, quarrels renewed, and songs and mirth on board with many finished up the eventful day. Only that very morning the Second Officer was giving us an account of a pirate that they had fallen in with during the last voyage, but much inferior to this.

. . . . . .

Towards Table Bay

Tuesday, September 18th, 1827.—One of the sailors quarrelling. The Captain, First and Second Officers, and the boatswain went below. The sailor, throwing his arms about, bidding defiance to everybody, was collared by the boatswain and put in irons. To the no small amusement of the Captain and Surgeon, the wife of one of the bailiffs stood by the side of them with a large bar of wood to defend them (as she said), and sure enough she would have been able to fight two men.

[1] This was probably William Renwick, who "of the shepherds has been most attentive to his charge."—*Records* of the Van Diemen's Land Company.

September 19*th.*—Captain mustered the crew and warned them of the consequences of mutinous conduct. The prisoner, acknowledging himself sorry for his conduct and promising to behave better, was released and went to his duty.

. . . . .

September 30*th.*—Divine Service on the quarter-deck.

Monday, October 1*st.*—Spoke a French brig-of-war [1] bound to Rio Janeiro. On the sight of which considerable alarm was shown as it appeared exactly like our piratical friend—in company with another vessel which had sprung a leak. The man-of-war was towing her into Rio Janeiro. The First Officer went on board; Captain, very polite, sent his compliments to me with some very fine oranges. He had seen the Pirate but could not long give chase on account of the leaky vessel.[2] Uncommon fine weather the last fortnight.

Friday, October 5*th.*—Strong gales with heavy rain, wind changing suddenly.

. . . . .

Sunday, October 7*th.*—Strong gale: Heavy squalls and rain.

Monday, October 8*th.*—Hard gales and squally with rain.

. . . . .

Monday, October 15*th.*—Heavy squalls. Split two sails.

. . . . .

Sunday, October 21*st.*—Came on suddenly a gale of

[1] *Alcibiades*, which reported on her arrival at Rio de Janeiro having spoken the *Caroline*.

[2] Lat. 30° S., long. 32° W.

wind: in all sails. (The next four days strong winds.) Divine Service in the cabin.

. . . . .

Friday, November 2nd.—Saw a ship astern, did not speak her.

. . . . .

Monday, November 8th.—Ship in sight to the eastward. Strong gales and heavy squalls.

. . . . .

Thursday, November 8th.—Saw Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope. The first land seen since leaving England.

Friday, November 9th.—Saw Robben Island.

Saturday, November 10th.—Attempted the northern passage to the Cape. At anchor in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. Wind changed, tacked ship.

. . . . .

Table Bay and Cape Town

Sunday, November 11th.—Ship brought to an anchor in Table Bay. Officers and steward left the ship, the officers only by mutual consent. Mr. Chamberlain joined the ship as mate. We were obliged to put into this port for water. I went on shore in the evening with my husband and the Surgeon. The pier was covered with ladies and gentlemen, chiefly English, with slaves dressed neat, very clean and looking very happy and contented. Their clothes, generally speaking, were at least equal to English tradesmen's clothing, with the exception of shoes, which no slaves are allowed to wear. Slavery, since the English have been

settled, is not to be seen in its true and horrid colours.

Here we attended chapel in the evening and heard an excellent plain sermon. We could not but enjoy what we had for so long been strangers to (at least in God's House). We slept on shore this night, and in the morning received a polite and friendly invitation to spend the time we might remain here at Mr. Heideman's—he being one of my dear husband's former owners—at their house in the country. Here at my first foreign port I found a most kind and agreeable friend in Mrs. Heideman. Never can the sweets of friendship with her be forgotten !

We rode out in the afternoon to the romantic and celebrated vineyards of Constantia, whose wine is so delicious, but were too late to reach it that evening. We stopped and dined half way, at one of the most beautiful spots I ever beheld in any country. It was an inn with a garden whose paths were covered with vines which trailed over verandahs (?) and with a river at each end. The banks covered with geraniums and aloes. Here I saw hedges of scarlet geraniums 5 feet broad and half a mile long. Scattered among the trees there were a few elegantly simple cottages fitted up in a rustic manner for those who wished to retire into the country.

Here newly married people generally make their abode, and the beautifully retired gardens have received the name of Courtship Gardens, sometimes that of Friendship Gardens. Surely if one place is more suitable for friendship than another this is

it! The beautiful flowers and delightful fruits I never can forget. How often did our hearts turn to our dear friends and their little families and wish that they, too, could partake in this delightful entertainment! Nothing but this was wanting to make the place an earthly paradise. Here, my dear sister Sarah, I thought, is a place you would never be tired of. Oh! that I could convey you here. If the pleasant spots on our little journeys to Claydon [1] drew your mind from the cares of business, what would this do?

The botany of Southern Africa is more rich and peculiar than that of any other country, and most of the singular and beautiful inhabitants of our stoves and greenhouses have been hence procured. Numbers equally remarkable from their size and from accident are as yet strangers to European cultivation. The bulbous-rooted plants alone are peculiarly characteristic of the Cape, for in no other place are they found in such abundance, variety, or splendour. What pen can describe the innumerable varieties of the *Ixia*? Who can reckon the beautiful species of *Iris*, *Moraea*, *Gladiolus*, *Amaryllis*, *Haemanthus*, and *Pancratium*, which after the autumnal rains adorn the meadows at the foot of the mountain with every brilliant hue? At other seasons the bright *Gnaphaliums*, the *Xeranthemum fulgidum* and *speciosissimum*, remarkable for their flowers of red, yellow and silky white; [and] the scented geraniums glowing on the sides of the hills intermixed with shrubby and arborescent heaths, compose a scene of

[1] In Suffolk, a few miles from Ipswich.

unrivalled magnificence. The eye rests on the light and silver foliage of the *Protea argentea* ; on the vigorous branches of the spreading oak ; on the still deeper hue of the aspiring stone pine ; the hard and stony wastes are scattered over the succulent plants of the *Staphelia*, *Mesembryanthemum Euphorbia*, *Crassula*, *Cotyledon*, mixed with the weeping willow and mimosa of various kinds which overspread the banks of temporary torrents. The forests are principally on the eastern border of the settlement and have been but little explored. They furnish the iron-wood, the African oak, the hassagai-wood, the yellow-wood,[1] a few species of *Zamia cycadis* ;[2] the scarlet flowered *Guajacum* and the incomparably splendid *Strelitzia reginae*. On the shores are cornelians, chalcedonies, and agates.

The mountains in the vicinity of the Cape are of blue schistus and indurated clay mingled with balls of granite. On the granite and clay is siliceous sandstone surmounted by granular quartz ; this description may extend to most of the inland mountains, but those called Copper Mountains supply a prodigious quantity of metal in the form of vitreous ore which is melted by the Damaras or Caffres in the vicinity. There are wolves, hyaenas, and various kinds of antelopes, and, among birds, the eagle, vulture, kite, crow, turtle dove, etc. ; more inland are the wild and ferocious animals of Africa, and hippopotami abound in the rivers.

The Nemakas [Namaquas] are of the same race

[1] Geelhout. [2] Kaffir's bread-fruit.

as the Hottentots, but the Damaras on the Copper Mountains and north to the Orange River and Tropic of Capricorn are of the same race (Houssas) whom Mr. Barrow suspects to be of Arabian extraction as they differ from the Hottentots and are acquainted with the smelting of copper and other rude arts.

Here I had an opportunity of seeing black people and white of almost every country. On market day a more motley group could never be imagined. The Caffres, Namaquas and Hottentots, come down from the countries round with their wagons loaded with wine, fruit, and eggs and poultry from the farms. The wagons are drawn by buffaloes. I have seen 16 or 18 in one wagon. The natives are not allowed to come into the town without some clothing. The market is a piece of ground in the manner of our Cornhill.[1] The people sit on the ground under their tents. Poultry and wine are uncommonly cheap.

I went on shore at Cape Town, expecting to meet with none I could call friends. But great will be the surprise of any stranger who goes there with the hospitality in its truest sense that is always found there. You are not allowed to consider yourself a stranger. You are "at home"—unless you prevent it yourself. On the Parade there are reading-rooms in a very handsome building. The Parade is enclosed with trees.

The most fashionable resort of an evening and

[1] i.e. Cornhill, Ipswich.

the most beautiful walk are the Government Gardens surrounding Government House. The hedges of myrtles, geraniums, monthly roses and almost every other sweet and beautiful plant, can scarcely be described. The paths are shaded by trees on each side, some being straight, others serpentine, and are crowded on Sabbath evenings by all the inhabitants who can possibly go out. The band plays delightfully.

At the top of the gardens is a menagerie built of stone almost like our prisons. Table Mountain is 3,582 feet in height, flat at the top and sloping almost perpendicularly down at its eastern end, where it is joined to a rugged peak called Devil's Hill nearly equal to it in height, the division between forming an apparent gap or chasm. Table Mountain falls also to the westward in a similar steep and sudden manner from its summit to a considerable distance, the further declivity being abrupt until it joins the foot of Sugar Loaf or the Lion's Head,[1] a mountain whose elevation is 2,160 feet. On the top of Lion's Head a flag is displayed whenever a vessel appears in the offing.

Table Mountain, Devil's Hill and Lion's Head make in fact but one mountain, for, although disjoined at their summits, they unite at a very considerable height above their base. Devil's Hill appears broken into angular, ragged points, while the Lion's Head is rounded similar to a dome and looks like a work of art. The town is defended

[1] "The Lion Hill . . . is separated from Table Hill by a small chasm called Kloof by the Dutch."

by numerous forts and batteries. Our people afforded amusement: the men by carrying two bottles in each pocket of their fustian or velveteen coats; the women by their vulgar showy dresses, shoes down at the heels, and baskets, parcels and bottles in each hand. The first evening many of them went on shore they bent their steps to the Britannia Tavern, a small shed near the water-side where wine is sold three halfpence a bottle, best wine from twopence to fourpence.

From thence they went to the Government Gardens. I was there at the time with my husband and the Doctor. We saw the military officers and their ladies, who were listening to the band, laughing and (as well as everybody else) much entertained. What was our surprise on seeing the cause! Our ladies and gentlemen staggering up the gardens eating oranges with their bottles of wine, the necks peeping out of their pockets and exclaiming every minute: "Lawk a daisy me! What sights of fine folks and black bawns (children) wi' white frocks! I waunder none on them comes to Stockton-on-Tees and Northallerton! Mussy, they'd make a show in Lunnon!"

One of the women gave a child an orange to discover if it would eat it in the same way as an English child. When they had again regaled themselves at their favourite tavern, there was a scene as you can scarcely imagine. Some standing calling to the "Caroline Calcutta's" people supposing Calcutta to be a surname on account of its being painted on the boat. Others dragging

their husbands (or wives, as the case might be) down to the Pier ; children dragging both parents.

There is a custom at Cape Town that no strangers may be found in the town after eight o'clock, nor may a boat put off from the Pier once the gun has been fired. After that time the guard is obliged to fire at any boat coming to or leaving the jetty. Stragglers are often at that hour quickly taken up by the police and put into a prison called a trunk. Notwithstanding the fear our people had of this night's lodging, they were most of them there for one night, and many for two—while others were waiting from seven for the boat—the Surgeon claiming them in the morning, and on their paying a small sum they are liberated.

Two of our people, about nineteen years old, ran away and hid themselves, we suppose among the hills, where there are many small cottages up a considerable height. The Surgeon advertised for them, but neither the man nor his wife were discovered, and, being both very unworthy, it was not thought worth while to delay the ship for them.

Here we also changed most of our sailors. We sailed from this delightful port stocked well with every kind of fresh provision, particularly turkeys, geese, ducks, sheep, pigs, fruit of all kinds, particularly raisins, which are fourpence a pound (the best bloom), plums twopence, almonds three halfpence a pint ; and after enjoying much pleasure and comfort for fourteen days, spent both in town and country, and visiting two collections

of curiosities from the interior of great extent. My friend informed me that on one of his journeys into the country he had been followed by two very large elephants, but they did not attack him as they generally do travellers.

While I live the remembrance of the kindness received here from my worthy friends Mr. and Mrs. Heideman can never be erased from my memory. My beloved husband and I can thank God who, in a foreign land, raised up friends truly useful for us, whose kindness was doubly acceptable from their being part-owners of the *Eliza Jane*. They expressed to me again and again the respect they felt for my husband and their approval of his exemplary character. The passage to the Cape had been long and fatiguing for us. Mrs. Heideman informed me that it was their intention to visit England and the Continent for twelve months in the following March.

. . . . .

Farewell, then, much respected friends . . . with whom we have spent many happy hours! . . . may you realize all the friendship in Europe communicated to others in South Africa! May you have a pleasant and prosperous voyage . . .

CHAPTER II

TABLE BAY TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

On Sunday, November 25th, the *Caroline*, having received on board the necessary water and fresh provisions, weighed and made sail from the Cape of Good Hope to continue her voyage to Van Diemen's Land. She had barely left the harbour when the captain learned that the anchor was broken. He immediately put back to Table Bay to replace it, and the ship finally took her departure from the port on November 26th. Throughout the rough passage across the Indian Ocean few entries were made in the diary, and it is evident that Mrs. Hare was a bad sailor. The *Caroline* steered an easterly course until, on nearing Australia, she turned southward to enter Bass Strait.

Bass Strait separates Tasmania from Australia and is about 200 miles long. The west end, between Cape Otway on the Australian shore and Cape Grim, the north-west point of Tasmania, is 120 miles wide; King Island, which lies about midway, occupies nearly thirty-six miles of this space. The safest entrance, on the west side of the strait, is the one between Cape Otway and King Island, which is forty-seven miles wide; another entrance, farther southward between Hunter and King Islands, is thirty-eight miles wide. This entrance is considered dangerous because of the islets in it. Nevertheless Captain Hare, who probably knew of their situation, directed his ship's course towards it in order to make his way to Circular Head by the shortest route.

The first land to be sighted by the *Caroline* in approaching the entrance was the Black Pyramid. Mrs. Hare calls it simply the Pyramid, but Flinders, whose discovery it was, gave it the name of the Black Pyramid on his chart. It is the most prominent of the islets lying to the westward of Hunter Island and is the first land to be sighted when nearing the Hunter Group from the westward. A small, dark-looking object with

a round summit, it rises 240 feet above the sea. The *Caroline* sighted it on January 19th, 1828. She next saw Albatross Island and passed through the entrance between Hunter and King Islands, picking her way into Bass Strait. Once in the Strait, after rounding Three Hummock Island, she steered southward towards Circular Head.

Mrs. Hare gives us a pleasant descriptive account of her arrival there and of the surroundings on shore. Her story is full of interest because it is one of the few in existence to throw light upon the early infancy of this particular settlement. In Widowson's *Van Diemen's Land* we learn that the *Caroline* was expected at Circular Head and that she was bringing out settlers and stock from England for the Company, who were hoping for an increase of prosperity in consequence. The journal, however, which tells of the voyage of these people, of their life on board ship and of their doings after their arrival, presents a much clearer picture of this corner of Tasmania. Mrs. Hare's story runs as follows :

JOURNAL OF THE "CAROLINE"

PART II—FROM TABLE BAY TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

Sunday, November 25th, 1827.—We sailed from the Cape on Sunday, November 25th, 1827. On catting the anchor found it broken ; put back for another. Weather very fine. Next day sailed towards Van Diemen's Land.

. . . . .

Tuesday, December 25th, 1827.—Where were we on this day ? Our bodies in a far distant clime ; our spirits in Ipswich at home. Yes, my beloved friends, with you were the thoughts of your

affectionate brother and sister . . . Good plum pudding and turkey were not wanting, but our brothers and sisters were far away. Sail on, good ship! and hasten the happy day when we shall meet! For surely we shall be brought together once more.

Wednesday, December 26th.—Plum pudding in every hand in the ship for two or three days.

Spoke the ship *Mary Ann,* bound for Singapore. Heavy gales the last six days.

How differently are our dear friends in England employed! Conversing with each other round a fire, calm and perhaps unruffled, while we are being tossed up and down. Thank God, we are happy—safe under His care!

Thursday, December 27th.—Very heavy gales and rain this and the next two days. Heavy squalls with constant lightning and rain.

. . . . .

Saturday, December 29th.—Strong gales with high sea the last fortnight. At 6 o'clock in the morning Mrs. B—— delivered of a son, a fine child. This miserable, wicked woman would not take the trouble to make a few clothes for the infant, begging what she could, being too much engaged in smoking a short pipe in the cook-house from morning till night. Her husband and her three other children ran about half naked and covered with dirt. This woman had had eleven children, the others the husband assured the Surgeon had died of neglect. This inhuman mother was soon about . . . the Surgeon after repeated orders

at last obliged her to go below to see to her infant. He discovered the child's flesh burnt in two places from her pipe. . . . The Surgeon supplied her with sago for the child, but she fed it with cold tea and biscuit.

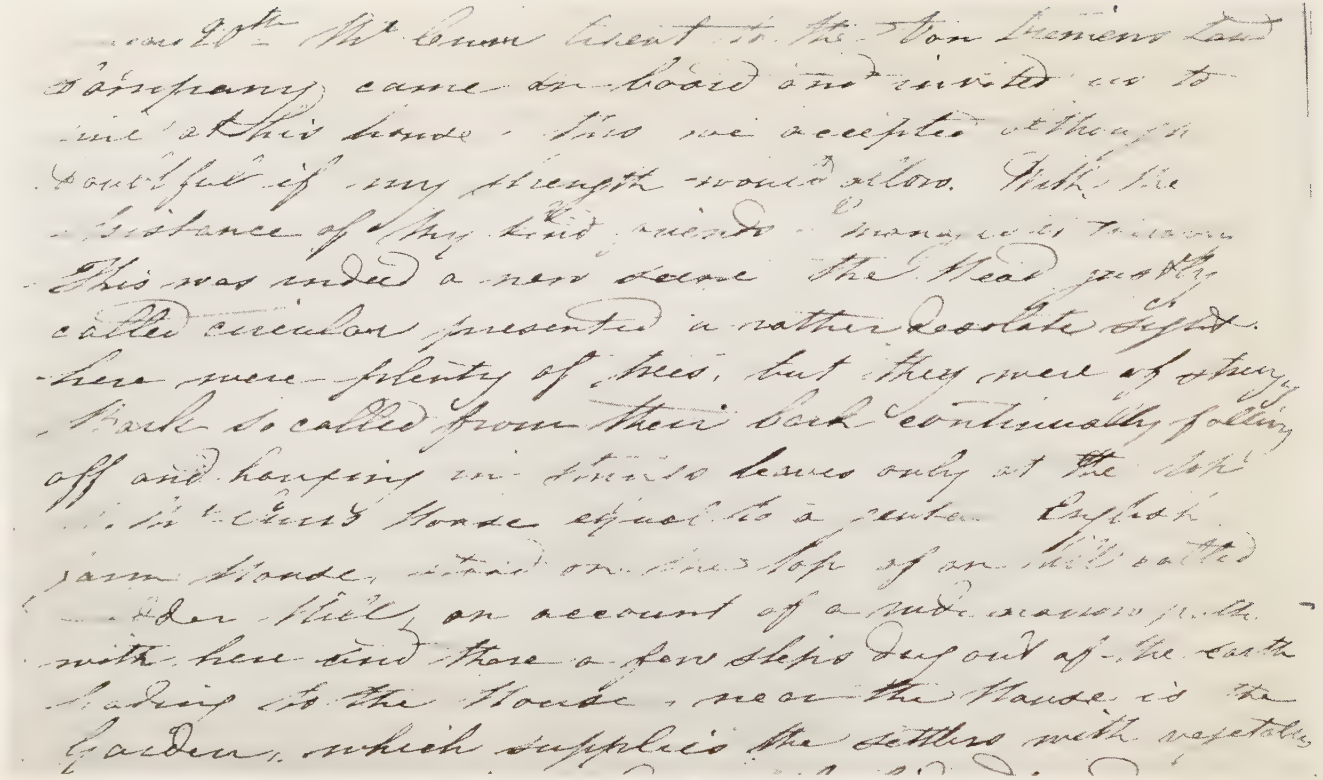
. . . . . .

Sunday, January, 6th, 1828.—The Surgeon informed Mrs. B—— [that her] infant was ill. Mrs. B—— begged that it might be baptised as "she dared say it would die." In the afternoon my husband baptised the neglected baby by the name of John. Weather too unsettled for Divine Service.

Monday, January 7th.—One of the women on passing Mrs. B——'s bed awoke her telling her that her bairn was dead. She carelessly lifted it up and said: "No, it has life in it yet." At twelve her husband told her to feed it. She stuffed large pieces of soaked biscuits into its mouth without ever moving the little creature. The food was found in its throat and the women supposed it was then dead. Her husband expressed much sorrow. . . . John B—— asked that the burial service might be read . . .

Tuesday, January 8th.—My husband read the Burial Service ere the little unfortunate was committed to the deep. The father, dressed in his best clothes, was present and much affected. The service was read in the dining cabin as it rained very fast. I did not attend, being ill. Thus was the dear innocent hurried to Heaven . . . it has joined the flock under that Shepherd who shall carry the lambs in His arms.

. . . . . .



A LEAF FROM MRS. HARE'S JOURNAL

Saturday, January 19th.—Saw the Pyramid, Van Diemen's Land. Passed Albatross Island, and the Hummock Island; brought to at one and a quarter of a mile from Circular Head. Much to my gratification, as I had been ill most of the passage from the Cape.

Remarks at Van Diemen's Land

What was the disappointment of our passengers on their arrival! Their minds, like the minds of most settlers, had been painting fancy visions, and, instead of comfortable houses as they had been used to see in England, here there were tents, bark huts and huge mountains. Some of them were sent to a still less cultivated settlement,[1] and all were displeased. Thus ended their voyage of hopes. Young men mechanics were stamping with passion, wishing themselves with their mothers, and all wishing themselves at home and the Directors of the Company, particularly Mr. Inglis,[2] in Heaven.

Sunday, January 20th.—Mr. Curr, Agent to the Van Diemen's Land Company, came on board and invited us to dine at his house. This invitation we accepted, although doubtful if my strength would allow. With the assistance of my kind friends I managed it tolerably. This was indeed a new scene! The Head justly called Circular presented a rather desolate sight. Here were plenty of trees, but they were of Stringey-Bark

[1] Emu Bay.
[2] Managing Director of the Van Diemen's Land Company in London.

so called from their bark continually falling off and hanging in strings. Leaves only at the top. Mr. Curr's house, equal to a genteel English farm-house, stood on the top of a hill called Ladder Hill on account of a rude narrow path with here and there a few steps dug out of the earth leading to the house.

Near the house is the garden which supplies the settlers with vegetables—a fine piece of ground neatly laid out and very flourishing, supplying vegetables every season. It has been but two years cultivated, and indeed that is but the age of the settlement. Round the house are corn-fields and we had the satisfaction of seeing the first harvest gathered in. There are also beautiful plains not far distant called Western, Eastern and Lovely Plains,[1] where most of the sheep are kept in good pasture. The large number of snakes in the grass prevented my going to see them.

This part of the settlement is very woody, and I was much pleased with the beautiful little parrots and cockatoos constantly flying about; the kangaroos skipping on their hind-legs are also very curious. The head of this animal is something like the head of a rabbit. The body very large in proportion, with a long tapering tail. The fore-legs not more than one-third the length of the hind-legs. They spring from place to place with great swiftness upon their hind-legs and tail. The natives are very expert at catching them and train their dogs for that purpose, so that they

[1] Mr. Curr writes of Western and Eastern Plains and Lovely Banks.

may never be at a loss for food. They are very fine stewed into what is here called a steamer. I had an opportunity of frequently tasting them. Mrs. Curr's son had a small kangaroo, tamed in some measure, about the house.

Our sailors had also many on board. The taste of this animal's flesh resembles that of venison, and I should imagine it is a species of southern venison.

The height of Circular Head appears about four hundred feet. I ascended it in company with the Surgeon without much difficulty. We found sheep grazing on its summit and kangaroo leaping about in all directions. Here I picked up the upper jaw of a kangaroo, intending to take it to England, for I suppose I shall find but few who have seen this curious animal, peculiar to Van Diemen's Land, and New Holland. The descent from the Bluff we found very unpleasant and rather dangerous.

Some of the passengers being destined for another settlement, and my dear husband finding it necessary to have the ship entered at the next town [he] was obliged to proceed there ere he could land the stock. Anxious as I was to see a little more of this interesting colony, my own health rendered it desirable (after having received a kind invitation from our friends) that I should remain with Mrs. Curr at this uncommonly healthy settlement, while Mr. Curr and my husband proceeded to Launceston.

The ship being there delayed three weeks, I had an opportunity of entirely establishing my

health and the satisfaction of seeing a few native women who visited the settlement with a few sealers and a Government Surveyor. Surely of all uncivilised creatures these are the worst! They commonly wear no dress of any kind, but Mr. Curr will not allow any of them to be brought into the settlement without decent clothing. It is surprising with what agility these women climb trees to catch the opossum and with what swiftness they hunt kangaroo. They also dive for crawfish, plunging without fear from very high rocks. Many of them had large scars upon them where they had pitched upon rocks under water.

Life at Highfield

The woman whom the Surveyor had given the name of Mary to, paid us a visit at Highfield House. She had learned a little English and appeared more intelligent than most of her race. She was astonished at all she saw, particularly at the chairs, tables and beds, never before having seen any other dwelling-house than a hut of the bark of trees made over a hole dug in the earth with a fire at the entrance. She insisted, much against my inclination and Mrs. Curr's also, upon kissing us and the children. The next day three other native women, or young girls about fifteen, paid us a visit. These poor creatures had joined the crew of a sealing boat while they were looking for seals along the coast and were brought by them to Circular Head.

How was my very soul shocked when two of

these girls took off their kangaroo-skin coats and showed the inhuman cuts these European monsters had given them when they had not been able to find them food. Mrs. Curr's feelings were instantly aroused for the youngest of these poor girls, and she thought it might be possible to teach her to take care of the children. But on consideration it appeared dangerous—as they have been frequently tried as servants, but universally proved traitorous. Their native bread [1] is found in the earth. It has the appearance of black stone outside, but inside of a cake of rice, boiled hard and dried. This they grind with stones, then mix the powder with water into a paste. They are also very fond of fish and kangaroo.

I had one sweet little boy (belonging to a fisherman, his mother a native) on board the *Caroline* some days, and a more sensible child (considering he had until within half a year been on a desolate island called Preservation) I never saw in England. He was five years old, very tall and stout, and had black curly hair; his complexion was copper-coloured. He spoke English very well. His dress was generally a shirt, pair of trousers buttoned at the knees and little kangaroo skin coat which we never could prevail on him to take off when he slept, nor would he sleep on a bed, preferring a mat on the bare deck. He had begged to come off with my husband to the ship and cried very much when obliged to leave us. His father, a cross old man, had not much

[1] An edible fungus.

affection for him, but would not part with him or this little stranger would most likely have seen England. We wished very much to have him.

The natives near Circular Head (the Northern coast) are much better looking than those of Hobart Town (Southern coast). The former are stout, well-made, their faces nearly round, with good eyes: noses not very flat and mouths of pretty tolerable width (such as I never saw in England). Their hair woolly, their lineaments in general are more pleasant than those of African Negroes. The men wear their beards long and smear them and their hair with red ointment. The latter are exceedingly ugly, with long spears, but remaining at the settlement I had no opportunity of seeing them.

The natives are terrible robbers and do all the mischief they can to the settlers. They had, a short time previous to our arrival, speared three hundred sheep belonging to the company. They do not eat mutton and do it but from mischief. Burning the huts of the shepherds and stealing their dogs are also the works of these incendiaries when they find them on the plains and wastes.

The beach at Circular Head is very fine and sometimes there are good stones picked up, as also on the coasts, of which the Surgeon has very kindly procured me a considerable number. Of the Cape Barren diamonds, and shells, I have procured, as specimens, some very good ones. Many indeed are the curiosities of this country, but a new settlement could afford me no very great opportunities of collecting. The Surgeon has kindly

promised to collect what he can and send them to me in England.

I must not forget the pigeons, which are very beautiful, called bronze from their beautiful colours. I hope to be able to show my friends a pair of wings of great beauty. I have also some native bread which I am sure will be a great curiosity. Black swans are also numerous in a river not far off the settlement. They are in size superior to the white. The bill is of a rich scarlet, near the tip is a small yellow spot. The whole plumage being of intense black. The eyes black ; the feet dusky and it has all the graceful action of the white kind. The blue crab of ultramarine colour is of exquisite beauty. At first I did not like the idea of the numerous lizards in the rooms, but they are perfectly harmless.

Many cheerful hours have I spent at Highfield House with my friend (Mrs. Curr) : many pleasant rambles have we had together with the interesting little children. Our people appeared, before we left, quite reconciled and cheerful ; they had assisted in gathering in the harvest, and a fine harvest supper they had.

The fern which overruns the settlement is obliged to be burnt before the land can be cultivated. It presented a very beautiful appearance when the fire had spread up the Head.

A few minutes' walk from Highfield were two beautiful ravines and many lagoons. The green hills with the straggling sheep and the sea at the foot look beautifully picturesque. The new settlers, before we left, had a very good house

built for four families. Many of them, with the Surgeon, proceeded to Emu Bay—another of the Company's settlements.

The climate is very healthy ; two of our women were reduced to skeletons almost and appeared in consumption, but no sooner had they got on shore than they improved very rapidly and were, when I left, in particularly good health. Here by the assistance of my good friends I perfectly recovered, and my dear and anxious husband on his return from Launceston could scarcely believe me the same pale, thin creature he had left.

The morning before we left the Surveyor wished to bring his native women on board to see the *Caroline*. They, on being told of it, asked if the vessel was going to Macquarie Harbour or England. The convicts who are too bad for any other place or beyond all hope of amendment are sent for life to Macquarie Harbour. Therefore the natives were a little afraid.

What was the surprise of the Surveyor in the morning to find (after having been with him for some time and treated by him with the greatest kindness) the native ladies had eloped with the sealers' ladies and taken all the dogs, a thing of great importance in an uncultivated country, as the men depended entirely upon their dogs for food for months together.

So we are to judge that these women, for the sake of the dogs, had been with them the whole way along the coast and had been with them long enough to learn enough English to be understood. But this was not all, for they stopp'd at the hut of a

shepherd and robbed it of everything moveable. These people generally live among the bushes in considerable numbers and are called bushmen. They thrust their long spears from the roof of the huts and generally make too sure an aim—murdering their unfortunate victims. But we are not to suppose the Europeans in their turn take no revenge. We have to lament that our own countrymen consider the massacre of these people an honour. While we remained at Circular Head there were several accounts of considerable numbers of natives having been shot by them (the Company's men), they wishing to extirpate them entirely, if possible.

The Master of the Company's cutter *Fanny*, assisted by four shepherds and his crew, surprised a party and killed twelve. The rest escaped but afterwards followed them. They reached the vessel just in time to save their lives.

The natives are extremely superstitious and dare not travel by night. They are afraid of thunder and terribly alarmed at the sound of guns. They travel all together for many weeks, sleep together promiscuously, except when disturbed by their frequent enmities and assassinations. The women on the birth of an infant leave the party for one day only, then rejoin them and travel without fatigue for many miles. No religion whatever is known, although they have a faint idea of a future existence and believe their people return to the clouds whence they originally fell.

The women are marked by the loss of the first

two joints of the little finger of the left hand, as they were supposed to be in the way when they coiled their fishing lines.

One tribe, numerous and muscular, have the singular prerogative of extracting a tooth from the young men of other families—a token of subordination or government. It is, however, not improbable that these practices may be mere initiations . . . the children are seldom disfigured and their sight is very acute. The language is reported to be grateful to the ear, expressive and sonorous, having no analogy with any other known language; but the dialects of the various regions seem entirely different.

Whether these people be remains of aboriginal tribes from the most southern extremities of Asia, or have passed from Madagascar and the eastern shores of Africa, are matters of future discovery and investigation.[1]

I have seen thirteen fires (lighted by natives) on the shores round Circular Head on one night.

From the situation of New Holland on the southern side of the Equator the seasons are like those of the southern part of Africa and America, the summer corresponding with our winter and the spring with autumn.

Little can be said by me on the affairs of the Company. The sheep, whose wool alone renders them objects of care, flourish well. The harvest, of course very small, answered the expectations of those concerned, the wheat being of a very fine

[1] See chapter on Tasmanians, p. 189.

quality. It must be remembered that the Settlement, three years ago, was entirely uncultivated and covered with fern.

I could not but feel pleasure in seeing the little companions of my voyage so happily employed gleaning this year at the opposite side of the world to that which they had gleaned in last.

I was a little disappointed to find no fruit, as New Holland produces all European fruits. My husband, however, supplied me with apples from Launceston and a few peaches.

. . . . .

Thursday, March 6th.—After enjoying all the sweets of friendship and comforts of shore, and a mutual promise of correspondence, we sailed for the unhealthy but fine island of Java, East Indies; with our hearts filled with thankfulness for the friends everywhere raised up to us. Had we reached Van Diemen's Land two months before, we should not have found a friend there.

Departure from Van Diemen's Land

I forgot to notice that one shepherd (drowned), one woman [1] and an infant were buried on one side of the Settlement. The graves had a flat stone over them and pales round. One man was carving tombstones very neatly when I left.

At this place my husband and myself spent the first anniversary of that happy day [2] which united us in the bonds of love and affection. We

[1] Mary Weavis by name.
[2] February 20th, 1827, at St. Margaret's Church, Ipswich.

had the pleasure of seeing all the officers of the establishment on board the *Caroline* to spend the day dear to our hearts by such sweet remembrance . . . How we did wish our sisters and brothers with us, or rather we with them !

Thus has the first year of our union rolled on to an end. Much have we seen. Many miles have we sailed from our native land. God's mercy has followed us close. God's blessing has never left us . . . May He guide us . . . through this life and afterwards bring us together in the Kingdom of His Glory !

. . . . .

Sunday, March 9th.—Passed Three Hummock Island, Pyramid Rock. Strong heavy gales with lightning all round the horizon.

. . . . .

Wednesday, March 12th.—Saw Albatross Island. Saw King's Island. Bore up for Basses Straits.

Thursday, March 13th.—Spoke the *North Briton*, 14 days from Sydney, bound to Singapore. Wind changing, threatening weather obliged us to put back to Circular Head. Anchored one mile from the Bluff. Returned a prisoner who had remained below 3 or 4 days without food.

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS BATAVIA

When the *Caroline* left Van Diemen's Land on March 9th, 1828, she sailed through the channel between Hunter Group and King Island, by which she had effected her entrance into Bass Strait. After she had passed the Black Pyramid Captain Hare directed her course northward, encountering strong gales with heavy seas and lightning. The furious seas at the northern entrance to Bass Strait compelled the commander —after vainly battling with huge waves for three days—to put back to Circular Head for protection, and on March 13th he dropped anchor in the harbour he had lately left, at one mile from the Bluff.

For the next few days the *Caroline* lay peacefully within the port, waiting for the gales to moderate. On March 18th for the second time she took her departure from Circular Head and set forth on her voyage to Batavia. Strong breezes and a high sea met her when she left the harbour and, steering in her old track, again passed through the channel dividing the Hunter Group from King Island.

In this passage uncharted rocks are numerous, and it is still regarded as a dangerous channel. Both approaches of Bass Strait are scattered over with these hidden perils, where many a ship has been lost, and some of the rocks are known by the names of the vessels which discovered them or met with misfortune there.

On leaving Bass Strait, Captain Hare bore up for the south coast of Australia. He skirted it, rounded the dreaded Cape Leeuwin, and made his way north-westwardly across the Indian Ocean towards the Straits of Sunda. The weather being squally and the sea very rough, the diary does not tell us when the shores of Australia were sighted or if Mrs. Hare saw the land, the reason being that during the bad weather, as she explains, " I had not been able to leave my bed." On

April 3rd she informs us that "the weather was finer on this my twentieth birthday." On April 14th again strong gales were experienced, after which, for the next week, the sea was tolerably calm, but nothing particular occurred until April 21st, when the ship sighted Java Head, or, as it is picturesquely described by an early historian, "the noble figure of Java Head," which in bygone days had been given its name by English and Dutch sailors.[1]

On April 22nd the *Caroline* entered the Straits of Sunda, where several ships were spoken; one of these, the *Arimus Marinus*, was also bound for Batavia, and most likely the ships now sailed in company. After passing through the straits, rounding St. Nicholas Point and threading the maze of the archipelago, Captain Hare bore up for the port of Batavia, where he dropped anchor in the Roads on April 23rd, after a passage of thirty-six days from Van Diemen's Land. Mrs. Hare's journal continues:

JOURNAL OF THE "CAROLINE"

PART III—FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO BATAVIA

Tuesday, March 18th, 1828.—Sailed again with strong breezes. The next six days, strong squalls and hazy weather. High sea. This day passed close to a breaker which at intervals broke up as high as the main-top—not laid down in chart. What was our surprise when the First Officer called us on deck to look at this awful but fine sight! It was not more than two ships' length off us and threw its spray nearly over us. My husband and myself could not but again see His Merciful Hand directing

[1] Osbeck's Voyage.

our course. We retired to our cabin and raised our hearts to our Preserver. The effect this produced in our minds continued 3 or 4 days, the dangers we had escaped created a fear in my mind I shall never forget.

. . . . .

Sunday, March 30th.—Strong gales the next 4 days. I had not been able to leave my bed during this bad weather, being very ill.

. . . . .

Thursday, April 3rd.—Weather rather finer. My health much better, this my twentieth birthday, spent on board the *Caroline*. Thank God for thus leading us! My beloved and myself this day twelve-months received affectionate tokens of remembrance from absent friends, nor will they this day forget us! Next three days fine weather.

. . . . .

Monday, April 14th.—Strong gales and hazy unpleasant weather . . . The next thirteen days tolerable weather, nothing particular occurred.

. . . . .

Monday, April 21st.—Saw Java Head. Two ships in sight.

Tuesday, April 22nd.—Friars Rocks in sight. Peak of Prince's Island. Thunder and lightning. This is always expected in the Straits of Sunda. Captain of the *Arimus Marinus* sent us some fowls, our own being finished. Bound to Batavia also.

. . . . .

Remarks at Batavia

We arrived at Batavia on April 23rd, 1828. We found a great many vessels in the Roads, and among them our friend Captain Edmunds, who sailed about a fortnight after we arrived (in pretty good health) for the Manillas, having been at Batavia seven weeks. My husband took me into the country directly to a very pleasant and handsome house, the Hotel de Provence. Here I was gratified by seeing a black tiger and leopard from the interior, and an alligator which was kept in a pond in the garden.

These frightful creatures I had many opportunities of seeing afterwards as they lay between the Piers on the water, some of them of immense length. These horrible-looking creatures are much reverenced by the Javanese and Chinese who believe that their relations sometimes take the form of these and will on no account kill them. All the alligators in the sea and rivers in Java are either children, parents, or otherwise related to the Javanese. Black tigers are nowhere to be found but in this island.

We received an invitation that evening from the Doctor (who sailed with my dear husband to England) which we accepted. We stayed about 2 months with Mr. and Mrs. Peitsch, where I had constant opportunities of seeing the customs of the natives.

The heat is not so intense considered in itself, as the thermometer registers about 80° to

86°, but, owing to the low situation of the town, the murky exhalations of the bays, canals and a muddy sea, it is impossible to walk out from nine o'clock until four. The sun being nearly vertical, rises and sets about six throughout the year. But nocturnal repose is disturbed by mosquitoes. In the evening, from six to nine, parties are formed, and at these intemperance too often assists the poison of this climate. The water is also of a bad quality. The air is so unwholesome from fetid fogs that out of three settlers it is rare that more than one outlives the year. The rainy season begins with December and ends with March.

The existence of the poisonous tree [1] which has supplied Dr. Darwin with a highly poetical description, appears to be completely confuted.

The complexion of the natives is common yellow, being without the red tinge which constitutes copper-colour. But the superior class of women are often rather fair and of a not unpleasing countenance. Their original clothing is made of the inner bark of trees. But the dress of the Malays consists of a vest or rather a skirt of cotton called a *sarun*[2] [and] a robe or short dressing gown of cotton called in Malay *cabaya* or *kabya*. The skirt is confined to the waist by a band of gold or silver, some of them beautifully ornamented in front.

[1] The Upas, or poison tree of Java (*Antiaris toxicaria*). "The valley of poison named Guwa Upas, in the centre of which the poison tree was formerly supposed to grow, is nothing more or less than the bottom of an extinct crater which emits quantities of carbonic gas destructive alike to animal and vegetable life."—*Java, the Pearl of the East.*

[2] Sarong.

The men wear also the *sarun* and *cabaya* with sometimes a pair of cotton trousers, and a coloured cotton handkerchief (or *saputangan*) tied very fantastically on their heads, their long hair tied up behind. The hair of the women is all combed back and twisted up all together on the top of their heads, fastened by silver or gold pins of three or four inches in length—sometimes ornamented with stones. They generally wear many gold rings, and ornament their faces with white powder (and their hands too). The Javanese ladies of highest rank wear the same kind of dress, but of silk or better materials, and have every finger ornamented with diamond rings, and their hairpins (consisting of a dozen or often more) headed with diamonds stuck round the ball formed at the top of their heads. They wear a sort of Chinese slipper on their feet and sometimes silk stockings and shoes. No slave's feet must be covered.

My friend, Mrs. Peitsch, had two nice little slaves who worked at their needle. The household women slaves wear a jacket of white cotton (or a *baju*) instead of the dressing gown. Both sexes finish all their dresses with a tight wrist buttoned with nine buttons close together on each sleeve. Children have six. The buttons are commonly of silver (or metal more common) set with coloured stones, those of the higher class gold or diamonds. The slave boys who ride out with the carriages or wait at table wear a cotton waistcoat with eighteen gold buttons, and a large bunch of buttons of gold handsomely ornamented on a chain fastened to the

left side of the collar of the *cabaya*. The mourning dress is a piece of calico round one wrist and black buttons to the sleeves.

While staying with Mrs. Peitsch a little girl five years old was drowned in the river which ran along the garden where she had been used to bathe every day. We supposed that she had fallen off the steps at high water, and therefore no person found her until next day. The poor Mother sat on the ground in the garden all night weeping and groaning, and ran about all day looking for her.

The first thought of the poor woman was to go to a conjurer (a Javanese) who told her the child's father, now an alligator, called her into the river. She then went to another who said the child's uncle had called her. After the body was found and brought to the house, all the money the woman had was spent in fruits, ices and eatables of all kinds for a feast, of which everybody who came to it must partake. The body was bathed in water with particular herbs in it, and after many more ceremonies was wrapped up in sixteen yards of cotton and placed on a bier formed of bamboo, with rattans over the top in the form of an arbour, thread being twisted in diamond shape from one cane to another. The body was put in at the foot and then carried with much lamenting to the camp to be buried, preceded by the Mother and a Priest to whom all make obeisance.

All this must be got through before sunset the day they die (or the body is found). The Mother is then obliged to lay the child's clothes on the

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bed or mat that is slept on (just as if they were a body) for a week, as the dead is supposed when all are asleep to go to its own bed or mat. On every part of the mat flowers are strewed. The seventh day after the day of the death, the 14th, 21st and 40th are obliged to be kept as feast days, when everybody who pleases attends, and the same day on which they die every year. At these feasts there is howling and singing and many other noises.

These people all chew betel-nut, opium, chuenom [1] of lime made from shells rolled up in some green leaf which makes their teeth completely black. Others by leaving out the fruit make them red. This they think is a great ornament. They also finish this charming repast with tobacco. At every feast this delicious morsel is much partaken. The natives live chiefly upon rice and fish with curry. They are also fond of fruits. All their rice is mixed with the capsicum and their drink water with the milk of cocoa-nuts.

The buffalo is employed in domestic labour. The jungle fowl or wild poultry are seen here, and there is a breed in the south of remarkable height, likewise found in Bantam on the west of Java, which also gives us the small breed so well known. Insects of all kinds swarm, particularly the destructive termites.[2] It is almost impossible to keep these little creatures from the food. They are also very troublesome, as I have found by experience, having been bit by them frequently. They leave a small blister like the sting of a nettle.

[1] Chunam.

[2] White ants.

Lizards (very harmless) occupy every room and very frequently run about the tea table for sugar.

There is some pepper grown in Java, but this article principally grows in Sumatra. It is the produce of a climbing plant resembling a vine. White pepper is produced by stripping the outer bark from the ripe grains. Camphor is another remarkable vegetable product, and *Capsia*, a coarse kind of cinnamon, is found in the central parts of the country. Rattans are exported to Europe for walking-canes. The silk cotton (*Bombax ceiba*) is to be found in every village. This is in appearance one of the most beautiful raw materials the hand of nature has presented to us. The fineness, gloss and delicate softness render it to the sight and touch much superior to the labour of the silkworm. But, owing to the shortness and brittleness of the staple, it is esteemed unfit for the reel and loom, and is only applied to the unworthy purpose of stuffing pillows and mattresses.[1] It grows in pods, from 4 to 6 inches, which burst open when ripe. The seeds entirely resemble the black pepper, but are without taste. The tree is remarkable from the branches growing out perfectly straight and horizontal and, being always three, forming equal angles at the same height. The diminutive shoots likewise grow flat, and the several gradations of branches observe the same regularity to the top. Some travellers have called it the Umbrella Tree, but that piece of furniture called a dumb waiter [2] exhibits a more striking picture of it.

[1] The Kapok tree, a species of *Gossypium*, or cotton tree. [2] Marsden.

The Malays are said to excel in silk and cotton weaving and in gold and silver filigree, but the manufactures are imperfect. Coffee is now the chief article of export from Batavia. The tree resembles the laurel and the berries grow two and three together. Rice, the next article of export, is much cultivated and grows exactly like barley. These two with rattans form our cargo. The Sugar Plantations formerly so common in Java are now mostly destroyed, and rice is planted instead, as the sugar exports ceased to be of any advantage. The cane resembles a large bulrush and is pressed in iron mills. The juice is then exposed to concrete it.

The fruits common there are too numerous to mention, but those which I am acquainted with are very fine indeed. My European taste prefers English fruits. The pine-apple here grows in all its glory and is one of the most cheap. The Pumaloa [1] or very large orange is the next. This juicy fruit resembles the orange in looks, but the peel is green or, when ripe, a little yellow and about half an inch in thickness. The inside contains pips and divides into quarters, but their colour is pink instead of orange colour. The taste of the peel resembles a Seville orange, but the fruit is very sweet. (This fruit grows to the size of an English pumpkin).

Mangosteens, Chinese apples, tamarinds, oranges, a few grapes, limes in abundance, citrons, lemons, and a fruit resembling a bunch of cherries, are among those I know most. On the hills there

[1] Pommloe.

are strawberries, raspberries and most European fruits.

The vegetables are very good. Here are all the European and many more. The radishes, mostly white, are about the size of carrots and very good. The Javanese, and indeed most Europeans in Batavia, dress the vegetables with so many hot ingredients that a stranger finds it difficult to recognize them. The fish are also good and numerous, and much more eaten than meat, being more suitable to the climate. Fowls are also very common, eighteen pence a dozen, unless very fine.

The Malay language is here universally understood. Waterloo Day is made a day of rejoicing and feasting here by Government as a holiday for the poor soldiers, who are indeed to be pitied, as there is a war with some of the natives in an unhealthy part of the island. The poor creatures are generally a little intoxicated. When they march from Batavia they are cheerful, but few indeed compared with the numbers who go ever return.

As we were in Batavia on Waterloo Day we had an opportunity of witnessing the natives' manner of fighting, and their war dresses and implements. The preparations for this day of amusement were a fortnight in hand. There was a sort of temporary ballroom erected in a meadow and in appearance more like the confectioners' shops in England on Twelfth Night. Perhaps a little superior, and much more extensive, and railed round with boughs. Outside, the Malays danced and had a sham fight. The rest of the meadow

was occupied by booths for amusement for the soldiers. Punchinello; soldiers running in socks for watches; goose hunting and every other amusement common at our fairs. The natives climbed greased cocoa-nut trees, for *sarums* and *cabayas* or China scarfs. The Commissary of course attended, and all the ladies and gentlemen from Batavia and its suburbs.

So large an assemblage of gold, diamonds and ornaments of all kinds can scarcely be imagined. Every slave is allowed to partake in the amusements, and, all dressed in their best, looked very pretty. Little Chinese children, with their one lock nearly touching their heels and the rest of their heads shaved, while others still smaller have but a little patch of hair on one side. The Chinamen exhibited their best fireworks and best dresses—wide silk or crape trowsers, and nankeen or white muslin shirts with wide sleeves, and their red velvet slippers worked with gold thread. Some of them wore a small black silk cap on the top of their heads, and all many rings and ornaments.

These Chinese, who for the sake of gain are willing to leave the graves of their fathers and forget their laws against emigration, marry with much ceremony Javanese women in Batavia, as no women are allowed to leave China. Some of them return there, but not many.

The feast of Waterloo ended in a ball for the ladies and gentlemen, but it was so warm and humid not many danced. I and my husband attended with our friends in the afternoon, but

declined the evening diversions. I was astonished at the fire kindled in the eyes of the Javans while they thrust their long spears about and handled their crees as if they wished that they were allowed to put them to their real use. The Javanese are allowed the privilege of wearing constantly at their side a crees [kris] or dagger in a wooden sheath, but must not use them. The Chinese carry about linen drapery, and indeed everything that is to be sold they sell.

A Malay or more carries the bol, and the Chinese walk before with a rattle to let people know that they are coming. The Chinese burying ground is a large swampy place, full of tombs resembling the small houses or fountains built over places where there are springs of water in England. They are of white stone, large, and have a door in front which locks. They have many characters on them and are kept white-washed.

On the death of a Chinaman his relations are called together to mourn . . . and, if he has no wife or near relative some woman is hired to cry the whole way to the grave. Six weeks after, the house is dressed up with lamps of oil-paper. The relations wear much yellow as mourning.

The Chinese have no temples here, but there are some few in the island, of Javanese, not very grand. There is a volcano in Java which broke out three years ago, and several volcanic islands appeared. The beautiful little deer [1] I so much

[1] Java deer (*Cervus Javanicus*). "This species of deer equals a newborn lamb in size; of a reddish brown colour, and the male has white stripes on his sides which run longitudinally."—Osbeck.

wished to see are indeed curiosities. My husband got me one, but before we got home it was stolen from the back of the carriage.

The Chinese junks lying in the Roads, with their gaudy painting, are very remarkable. (There are three or four) but the insides are kept so dirty that I declined going on board.

There are now no Chinese crapes in Batavia, as the times are greatly altered and the Europeans are tired of them. Most ladies prefer European goods now, and, muslin being more worn than anything else, China goods are carried to the British Indies. I was much disappointed at not being able to get a single shawl. While remaining with Mrs. Peitsch we generally spent our mornings walking, and rode out every evening without bonnets or shawls. Mr. Peitsch and my dear Robert were occupied every morning with business. Every European in Java sleeps in the middle of the day but rises early in the morning.

Mr. and Mrs. Peitsch expecting to go into the country, it was my wish to spend a short time on board. I had enjoyed pretty good health on shore and on board for three months and a half. The ship was obliged to go out to the islands to heave ballast, when I was taken unwell there. My husband sent into the Roads for a doctor who came on board to see me, but being Dutch we could not understand what his opinion was. He sent me a little medicine, the next night my pain and fever increased. Robert took the ship in again. A Captain had come on board while we were outside, and, hearing I was unwell, informed

me he had a Surgeon of the British Navy on board who was a very clever gentleman. Robert sent for him, nor was it many minutes before he came on board. He bled me directly, as I had had one fit of ague and fever and my nails were quite black.

. . . . . .

July 16*th*.—I was now very ill, and the doctor saw it was indeed intermittent fever and would not leave me, fearing the consequences. . . . He went on shore and brought the English physician off . . .

[At three o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, July 21st, Mrs. Hare gave birth to her first child, a son, who to the grief of his parents died shortly afterwards. For some time the mother's life was in imminent danger and she wrote afterwards: "Our kind friend (Dr.) Brock kept his station by my bed 8 days and nights with my husband wiping the perspiration from my aching brow—endeavouring to warm my shivering body." . . . She adds: "I have felt what it is to pass through the shadow of Death." Her child was buried on shore.]

My husband received the greatest attention from the Captains and Officers of every English ship and of many foreigners in the harbour. Each offering a boat's crew and anything they had on board for my comfort. I had two Javanese women, but such bad nurses I seldom cared about seeing them, our good doctor being more than nurse to me. In the kindness of his heart he even offered to break the agreement he had made with Captain Wright, and sail with us to England, in case the

doctor we had previously engaged did not arrive in time. My attacks of fever were less and less strong every time. Before Dr. Brock left, our own doctor came on board. When from anxiety and grief my husband was seized with the same fever, what did we think, what did we feel? . . . afterwards we took it by turns continually relapsing, myself six, my husband five times. Now we must see that He who knoweth all things cannot err . . . had marked out every pang long ere we felt it, and, knowing that many days of pain were to be ours, took our tender infant into His own care.

Bitter indeed would have been our feeling had we seen him deprived of the nourishment of a parent. Oh! how my heart (our hearts), yearned for our friends, our brothers and sisters. They would have loved little Robert . . . but God's ways are not our ways . . . Oh! that we may feel what is,—is best.

To this my heart can bear testimony,—nothing that money could buy or that trouble, attention or labour could procure was wanting to soothe my bed of sickness. My beloved declaring that were I but spared he would willingly begin the world again.

Historical Remarks on the Island of Java

The island of Java is in extent about 300 leagues. It is divided into a great number of small kingdoms or principalities, dependent on the

Emperor of Java, who resides at Cattasura,[1] excepting the kings of Yapora and Bantam and the Dutch, who are settled in the south-west part of the island formerly called the Kingdom of Yacatra. There was formerly a large Indian City near the seaside of that name in the neighbourhood of which the Dutch, in 1618, raised a Fort called Batavia. In process of time they destroyed the town and built a fine new City which was named after the Fort. It became one of the strongest places in the Indies and at last the capital of all the Dutch Company's settlement in the Indies. In 1741 the City of Batavia was about a league and a half in circuit, surrounded by strong walls in which there were five gates, and defended by six good forts besides the Citadel. The public buildings were very magnificent and all the private houses very neat and handsome. Some judgment may be formed of the grandeur of the place by the number of bridges built over the river, which totalled 56, besides many more without the town. The suburbs contained at least ten times as many houses as there were in the City itself. Some were very large, adorned with fine gardens, canals and shady walks, which has made it the pride and paradise of the Indies.

Batavia and its suburbs are inhabited by so many nations they can scarce be numbered: Javanese, Chinese, Malayans, Amboynese, Timors, Mardykers, Macassars, Bougis, etc., etc., besides Portuguese, French, Dutch, English, Armenians, and other Christians and great numbers of negro

[1] Kartasura.

slaves. Each of the Indian nations is governed by a Chief or Protector, who has the power of regulating matters relating to religion and exercising justice in disputes. He also applies on behalf of the people to the Governor-General and Council of the Indies or to the College of Justice, the Supreme Judicatures at Batavia. It is easy to imagine that among such a mixed multitude there are frequent disturbances. Besides their frequent wars with neighbouring potentates the Europeans are in continual alarm from domestic treasons.

Formerly there was a conspiracy by the Javanese, headed by Peter Erberfield, son of a Dutch gentleman and an Indian woman. This plot was seven years in agitation. Many thousands were privy to it, and yet it did not break out until Friday, 2nd of January, 1722. The mother of the chief conspirator was said to be descended from the ancient kings of Yacatra, and in her right Peter Erberfield pretended to make himself king, which induced him, although a Christian, to consent to the utter extirpation of the Europeans. He had corrupted all the Negro slaves as well as the Indian inhabitants of Batavia, and had also drawn some of the neighbouring princes of the island into a treaty by which they promised to furnish him with 17,000 men. He had found means to amass a great quantity of arms, ammunition and provisions in subterranean magazines, so that had he not been discovered, and, some say, betrayed by the King of Bantam, he would have doubtless executed his design as

successfully as he had cunningly contrived it. Being apprehended, he was put to death with 18 of his followers.[1]

A more dangerous conspiracy broke out in 1740 by the Chinese . . . they assembled in large bodies, murdering and destroying large numbers in the country, and set fire to the suburbs and attacked the City.

Chinese Rebellion at Batavia in 1740

(Extracts of letters from Batavia written in this year.)

" In May the Chinese began to rove about the highlands in the island in parties of five or six thousand, spreading death and devastation. These barbarities increasing, Mynheers Van Imhoff and Van Aarden were ordered by the Council to march with a detachment of 800 of the garrison of Batavia against the rioters and routed and dispersed them. In the meantime the Chinese

[1] " Erberfeldt," writes St. John, " a native of Batavia, the son of a Westphalian gentleman by a Javan mother, was possessed of great wealth and still greater ambition. At the age of 48 or 49 he conceived a plot to overthrow the Dutch power by slaughtering all Christians and creating himself governor. Cantadia, a native of Kartasura in Mataram, first conceived the design, but knowing his influence was slight he journeyed to Batavia, where Erberfeldt attracted his notice. Cantadia introduced himself to the opulent half-caste and laboured for two years to entangle him in the plot. Erberfeldt was to be styled the Lord ; Cantadia the Noble. Active operations were to have commenced on the first day of the new year (1722). At the hour when the citadel gates were opened, seven thousand men were to start up in arms and cut to pieces the whole Christian population. A general insurrection in the native states would follow that signal. Success was anticipated without a doubt. Erberfeldt should govern the city and the citadel of Batavia with supreme power, while Cantadia should rule the provinces lying between the sea and the mountains. Three days only remained to put the plan in action. Whoever revealed the plot is unknown." The Sultan of Bantam is not above suspicion, but the Dutch aver that a Javanese girl betrayed the secret ; the conspirators were arrested and after being cruelly tortured they were beheaded.

at Batavia, computed at 90,000, in concert with the rioters, had made preparations for their intended rebellion.

"Two days later, public thanks were offered in the churches that this plot had been defeated. Erberfield's house, except a part of the wall, was levelled to the ground, and a mimic death's head erected on a pike was placed on the wall, beneath which was inscribed the legend that no house should ever be erected there. But when their dark designs were upon the point of execution the whole affair was revealed to the Governor by five of the conspirators. Upon the discovery the guards were doubled and all necessary precautions taken. Two days after, on October 8th, the Chinese without surprised one of our advance posts, burnt it and put the Europeans to the sword. Hereupon the Government ordered that no Chinese should open his door or appear in the streets, or burn a light in the night time under pain of death. At 7 o'clock the Chinese without the city set fire to the suburbs and at 9 advanced with great shouts, attended with the noise of all kinds of instruments to give the signal to their countrymen in the city, but the latter were awed by the measures taken for our defence, and did not make the least motion, though we did not exceed 3,000 fighting men.

"In the meantime the Chinese without continued their havoc with fire and sword, and, having made some fruitless attempts upon two of the gates, retired from the suburbs in the morning. It was then resolved in Council that we could

never be safe while so many Chinese remained in the city. And orders were given to put them all to the sword except the women and children. At 5 the massacre began and lasted till night. So great was the slaughter that the dead bodies lay in heaps and the streets ran with blood.

"The Chinese, finding that they must die, set fire to their own quarters, which made above half the city. They were burnt to ashes, some thousands perished in the flames. This conflagration occasioned great confusion among the women and did not a little increase the horror of the scene. Their wealth was likewise consumed, everything was plundered by the Europeans, especially the sailors, several of whose shares amounted to 10,000 crowns. 12,000 Chinese are computed to have been massacred and 655 confined in prison, who were put to death the same night. Our loss did not exceed 200 killed and wounded.

The prisoners confessed their design was to make themselves Masters of Batavia; had they succeeded, they would have impaled the members of the regency, cut in pieces Mynheers Imhoff and Van Peneris, burnt all of an advanced age; made slaves of the youth of both sexes, and obliged the General of Batavia and the chief Directors of the Company to perform the meanest domestic offices for the chief of the Chinese nation. The rest of the Chinese fled to the mountains, where they continued their devastations, but a general pardon being proclaimed on the 22nd some hundreds returned. The principal chief in

this revolt is said to be a natural son of the Emperor of China, who was obliged to flee from his country."

Character of the Malays

The Malays are chiefly Mahometans and in some degree civilized. The Malay language is sometimes called the Italian of the East, from the melody of its frequent vowels and liquids. The Arabic characters are made use of ; and an influx of that language has followed the adoption of the Mahometan religion. They write on paper, using ink of their own composition, and pens made of the twigs of a tree. The purest Malay has no inflexion of nouns and verbs. It is a language very soon learnt—a child's language.

In general the Malays are a well made people, though rather below middle stature, their limbs well shaped but small and particularly slender at the wrists and ankles. Their complexion is tawny. Their eyes large, their nose flattened by art rather than nature. Their hair is very long, black and shining. They are restless, fond of navigation, war, plunders, emigrations, colonies, desperate enterprises, adventures and gallantry. They talk incessantly of bravery and honour, while they are universally considered as the most treacherous and ferocious people on the face of the globe, and yet speak the softest language of Southern Asia.

Their ferocity is so well known to European companies who have settlements in the East

Indies that these have prohibited the captains of their ships from taking on board any seamen of that nation (when obliged to put into Malay Islands), except in the greatest distress, and then on no account more than two or three. It is not uncommon for a handful of these savages suddenly to embark, attack a vessel by surprise, massacre the people, and make themselves her masters.

Malay barques with twenty-five or thirty men, it is said, have been known to board European ships of 30 or 40 guns . . . The Malay history is full of such enterprises which mark the desperate ferocity of these barbarians.

While we were at Batavia several small vessels were attacked by Malay proas and the captains and men murdered or cruelly treated. Their guns are small swivels. They generally in their attacks depend on a sort of chief who leads them. Should he fall, they sheer off pretty fast, believing the Devil is against them. While he lives they will continue to fight.

We lost two of our poor sailors from the fever at the Batavia Hospital. All have been ill except the Chief Mate.

. . . . .

Thank God we have left Batavia ! One spot alone endeared to our hearts . . . Our Baby's Grave . . . But God's will be done.

shore at the house of two French ladies—very agreeable. Music is a very common accomplishment at Mauritius. Scarcely any who do not understand some musical instrument. The harp and the guitar are now very fashionable. There were also many balls, which made the place very gay, when we were there, as it was the season.

There is a very good market after the English style. Provisions are rather dear. Vegetables good, fruits good and plentiful, but we arrived too soon for most of them. There are very pretty and extensive farms on the mountains which are very pleasing. A very short distance from the town is the Bay of Tombs, celebrated as "the burying place of Paul and Virginia" and much visited on this account.[1] It is a beautiful spot. Government Gardens are here, and are very beautifully cultivated, containing many cinnamon and nutmeg trees. Visitors to this spot, being so numerous, are gratified by the sight of the graves of Paul and Virginia. But only imagination places their bodies here, and I have seen some of the inhabitants smile at the credulity of the numerous and constant visitors.

The most beautiful specimens of rock-coral are found here and many shells, some very valuable ones, as £50 is not an uncommon price to be given for a pair of Harp shells. The Champ de Mars is a beautiful plain at the foot of the hills. There

[1] It will be remembered that this island was the scene of St. Pierre's story of *Paul & Virginia*. The wreck of the *St. Geran*, which took place on the 18th of August, 1744, was a real event and the conduct of the officers, who showed great heroism in saving the lives of the passengers, among whom were two young girls, inspired St. Pierre to write his book.

are stone seats round it, and a stone monument to a General who was killed in battle upon that plain. It is the evening resort for the fashionable and unfashionable from six in the evening. The band playing : the beautiful gardens with the huge mountains : carriages containing the most showy and elegant dresses : thousands of little black children dressed in white or gaudy silks, continually engage the attention of a stranger.

The black towns or residences of Negroes are very numerous and large ; all together huddled as close as possible (like Irish huts most of them), some tolerably neat. Here we attended church on the Sabbath, but did not enjoy the service.

The clergyman, suiting his sermon to a gay and fashionable congregation, chiefly military, advised all to do as well as they could, and they might depend upon allowance being made for faults natural to them. We looked into the Catholic Chapel, which is ornamented very elegantly, in the usual style.

From this island I had intended supplying my friends with many curiosities, but it pleased God that here I should again relapse for the sixth time into an intermittent fever, which obliged me to return on board for fear of delaying the ship. Some few (curiosities) I had purchased in the market, where they are exhibited every day.

We here experienced much kindness and attention from our French friends and received an invitation from the Agent to spend the time we might stay on the island with them ; which we declined, as they kept much company, and our

health was in a precarious state, both of us having been confined to our bed only a week before we arrived. One day with ague when it was impossible to keep a limb still, the next in floods of perspiration only to be imagined by those who have suffered from this most trying fever.

I must confess that the affection shown by a black girl—a slave—gratified me more than anything I met with. This girl was about 28 and washed for Robert the last time he was here. The poor creature walked three miles to beg of her mistress to allow her to sail with us. My beloved husband would have bought this affectionate creature, but her mistress knew her value too well to part with her. Poor Sophia had some little money, as she had been let out for some time. She told us she should save all she could before next year, when she hoped Captain Hare would come to the Isle of France for her. She spoke English very well and washed beautifully. She told me she would learn everything before we came again. Her ornaments of gold and pearls were more like those of a lady of rank than those of a slave.

How eagerly my husband and myself would have released this kind-hearted creature from her bondage if it had been possible! My young French friend begged my acceptance of a token of remembrance, and both dined on board before we left and expressed much sorrow for my sickness.

Our doctor continued on board, and, being a clever man, I preferred him to the doctor on shore who kindly gave his advice.

Departure from Mauritius

Saturday, September 27th, 1828.—Weighed and made sail. Fine weather the next five days. . . .

October 1st.—Strong breezes and cloudy weather, much lightning next seven days. Gales, strong squalls.

. . . . .

Saturday, October 11th.—Saw a sail to the eastward. Weather fine.

. . . . .

Monday, October 13th.—Saw land, first point of Natal, coast of Africa—fine weather.

. . . . .

Wednesday, October 15th.—Strong gales with rain and high sea this and next day.

. . . . .

Friday, October 17th.—Ship in sight, did not speak her. Squally weather.

. . . . .

Sunday, October 19th.—Saw the land about False Bay. Next eight days steady gales with rain.

. . . . .

Friday, October 31st.—Spoke the brig *Clara Henriette* of Amsterdam, from Padang to that place. Fresh trade winds.

CHAPTER V

ST. HELENA AND TOWARDS HOME

THE *Caroline* took leave of Mauritius on Saturday, September 27th, 1828. Steering round the southernmost point of the island, she sailed in a south-westerly direction towards the African coast and sighted the shores of Natal on October 13th. She then changed her course and tacked southwards. In rounding the Cape of Good Hope the land about False Bay was visible ; the ship, however, did not again touch at a South African port. Unpleasant weather with gales and steady rain met her on continuing her voyage northwards into the Atlantic, during which time nothing interesting happened on board. On November 3rd, in the evening, she reached St. Helena in 15° 55′ S. and 5° 43′ W. Possibly because there was no wind, the *Caroline* was forced to heave-to for the night, and at an early hour next morning she bore up for the harbour of James Town and came to an anchorage.

JOURNAL OF THE "CAROLINE"

PART V—ANCHORED AT ST. HELENA

Monday, November 3rd.—Saw the Island of St. Helena. Hove to for the night. Bore up and made sail for the island. At 9 in the morning came to an anchor off St. James's Valley.

What did that great man Napoleon think when first he saw this tremendous Rock or prison wall ? We went on shore in the morning, dined with Mr. and Mrs. Solomon, and in the afternoon proceeded to the tomb of Napoleon Buonaparte. Never

should I have dreamed of a road for carriages being formed up this terrible looking place.

The town is very neat and genteel, in the English style of course, and very healthy.

On landing I saw flying-fish exhibited on the rock eighteen or twenty inches in length.[1]

We received from the Governor, Brigadier-General Dallas, and his Lady, an invitation to dine at the Castle, but declined it, intending to sail that night.

The China ships call here and leave India goods every year, but these and every other kind are dearer than in Europe. We visited the Church, a very neat small building containing several marble monuments, chiefly of passengers from India. Here is a very fine organ, quite new. The Clergyman and Organist very kindly accompanied us about the Church and favoured us by playing (very finely) upon the organ.

There is a subscription raised for the general freedom of Slave Children. Hundreds have already been freed in this small island. I could not but exclaim: "What will not Perseverance do?" when viewing the roads, all up the rocks winding this way and that, till they reach the summit, around which there are very fine seats. This is called "The Country". Here is a Church also, to accommodate the Governor and family when wet weather prevents their going to town.

Here, after travelling in a carriage up what

[1] This species is named the solitary flying-fish (*Exocetus solitarius*) from its not being seen in large flights like the others and it appears to have other specific differences.

appeared a perpendicular road for some length of time, we reached the Tomb—the object of curiosity to every visitor.

Napoleon's Tomb

No foreigners are allowed to visit it alone. Our doctor being German, an officer appointed for this purpose accompanied us.

I cannot say I admired the prospect beneath in travelling thus between Heaven and Earth on a narrow road, in many parts with no safe-guard on either side to prevent you (should the horses make a mis-step) from being dashed to pieces long ere you reach the town. But the horses are so used to it, they know every turn. Ladies ride up on horseback without fear. The rock or "The Country" is subject to rain (very light) and fogs, which render it rather unpleasant.

The Tomb has a sentry constantly watching over it. What a burying-place for so great a man! A large stone, unpolished, covered it over, flat on the ground. The grave is lined with these stones and the body is placed in four coffins. It is railed in with iron rails about two feet all round, and at the two corners at the head of the tomb are pots of Heartsease—railed round—placed there by Madame Bertrand.

The large willow which hangs over the Tomb has been so robbed by visitors that the Governor has had slips of it planted to prevent its being wholly run away with. We received an order or pass for some pieces of willow. A few yards from

this spot is the beautiful pure spring of water so much partaken of by Napoleon who constantly sent his silver cup to have it filled every day. All round this hero's Tomb are hedges of scarlet geraniums and beautiful aloes. A little boy brought us a very fine nosegay, all of which I have put into books for our dear friends. Not far from their beautiful birthplace, by the side of the spring, is a jug placed, as every one tastes the admired water.

Napoleon's house, or rather that which was built for him, is called Longwood.[1] He refused to reside in it, declaring his intention to continue in the house [2] he was at first put into. It is a beautiful place, nearly surrounded by trees, although on the summit of a rock. As it was a little distant from the Tomb our party did not visit it—on account of the lateness of our recovery (from illness)—there being too some slight showers of rain. The country seats and gardens on the rock are very genteel and picturesque.

This interesting island was discovered by the Portuguese, who stocked it with animals and fruit trees. But there was no settlement when the English took possession in about 1600. There is only one harbour—very safe.

Departure from St. Helena

Tuesday, November 4th, 1828.—Weighed and made sail. Gentle trades the next five days.

. . . . .

[1] New Longwood.

[2] Old Longwood House.

Monday, November 10th.—Noon. Saw the Island of Ascension between Africa and Brazil, discovered in 1508. Has an excellent harbour, frequented by homeward-bound ships, which here find turtle and sea-fowl. This island is mountainous and the soil a barren sand. Some of the turtle found here have weighed 700 lbs. Squally weather.

. . . . .

Wednesday, November 19th.—Passed two sail standing to the southward. Last eight days cloudy weather. Light trade winds. Caught a young African horned owl hovering over the ship, which must have flown two hundred miles. I am afraid that I shall not be able to bring this deserter to England, having no mice (their favourite food) on board).

Thursday, November 20th.—Thick weather, constant rain. Next four days calm, rain, lightning and cloudy weather.

. . . . .

Monday, November 24th.—Light winds : passed a sail.

Tuesday, November 25th.—Passed a brig. Squally weather with rain.

Wednesday, November 26th.—Two prisoners on the poop on bread and water, for insolence to the Captain, and taking up a billet of wood to strike the First Officer. Refused going into prison. The Captain produced a pistol, on which they directly declared they would go. Clear fine weather. Fresh breezes.

. . . . .

Friday, November 28th.—One of the prisoners, acknowledging his fault and promising to behave better,

was released. The other sent the Second Officer to the Captain to let him know he wished to acknowledge himself in the wrong and ask forgiveness, saying he was the instigator of the whole affair. Both were released. Light trades, pleasant weather.

Saturday, November 29th.—One sailor on bread and water pretending to be sick. Reported by the Surgeon in good health.

Sunday, November 30th.—Passed a brig standing to the southward. A sailor having refused to attend Divine Service was confined below. Fine weather.

Monday, December 1st.—Prisoner released. Light breezes and squally.

Tuesday, December 2nd.—Passed a brig to the southward. Light winds and fair.

. . . . .

Saturday, December 6th.—Saw a sail. Strong gales and cloudy three preceding days. Light winds and tolerable weather.

. . . . .

Wednesday, December 10th.—Passed a quantity of seaweed from the Gulf of Florida [1]; three preceding days fine weather. Light trade winds.

Thursday, December 11th.—Passed a brig to southward.

. . . . .

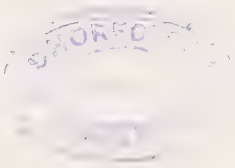
Friday, January 9th, 1828.—Arrived at Portsmouth.

END OF JOURNAL

[1] The Sargasso weed. Writing of these seaweeds Dr. Bennett says: "The supposition that they proceed with the Gulf Stream from the Gulf of Mexico is now exploded. This weed is considered to extend between the eighteenth and twenty-second parallels of north latitude, and the twenty-fifth and fortieth meridians of west longitude."

The entries in Mrs. Hare's Journal cease on December 11th, 1827, and the last one, therefore, giving the date of the ship's arrival at Portsmouth, has been added by the author, who obtained the information from *Lloyd's Register* of that year.

Let us now turn again to the countries visited in the long voyage, each of which possesses an interesting early history, and learn how Europeans first found their way into those far-off lands.



GEORGE BASS

BOOK II

EARLY DAYS IN NORTHERN TASMANIA

CHAPTER VI

THE DISCOVERY OF BASS STRAIT

THE discovery of Northern Tasmania, unlike that of the south coast, has been entirely the work of the British. Tasman, Marion, Furneaux, Cook, Bligh, Cox, D'Entrecasteaux and Hayes all had a share in making the southern shores of the island better known; but Bass, Flinders and Robbins first traced its northern outlines.

Tasmania had long been thought to be a part of the mainland of Australia. Even in the old maps, made in the time of King Charles II, it was represented as the southernmost portion of the continent. One hundred and forty years later seamen began to doubt whether it really was connected with that country. For instance, Captain John Hayes, the explorer of the Derwent, wrote in 1793: "Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux assert that there is no strait through Van Diemen's Land but I am convinced that there are several"; and Captain Hunter, when passing up the east coast in H.M.S. *Sirius* in 1789, on seeing the coastline suddenly trend away, also recorded in his journal that he "had reason to believe in that deep space there was either a very deep gulf or a strait which may separate Van Diemen's Land from New Holland."

Yet, for nine years afterwards, Bass Strait remained unknown. Then two bold and capable seamen, George Bass and Matthew Flinders, surgeon and midshipman of H.M.S. *Reliance* which had arrived at Sydney in 1795, determined to increase our knowledge of the southern coasts. In 1797, Bass in his whale-boat reached Wilson's Promontory at the north-east corner of Bass Strait, and saw there every appearance of a

passage or open sea. On his return to Port Jackson he reported what he had seen to Captain Hunter, now Governor of the colony, who, realising the importance of this information permitted the two officers to sail in the *Norfolk* sloop [1] to Tasmania in order to prove its insularity. Eight volunteers from the King's ships in port accompanied them.

On October 7th, 1798, they set out on their voyage and, after calling at the Furneaux Group, anchored for a tide at the largest of the Swan Isles. Early in the morning of November 1st, they arrived at the north-east point of Tasmania (afterwards named Cape Portland) and steered westward along its unknown coast. "Its general trending seemed to be about E.S.E. and W.N.W." [2] Its shores were chiefly sandy beaches; "the front land was of moderate height; the back was mountainous." One ridge of mountains that bore south was very high and rugged. Its blue peaks and distant caps attracted the voyagers, and Bass says from the white patches on the sides they concluded it was rocky and barren. The lower land was beautiful: "extensive tracts of open ground that came down towards the sea in gradual slopes were varied by clumps of wood and large single trees." [3] A column of smoke rising a few miles inland was the only sign that it was inhabited. At noon the latitude was 40° 44′ 08″. "A long curved line of ripple then extended to the northward."

The sloop anchored at five in the afternoon to the westward of a small island two and a half miles off a sharp sandy point. The weather was fine and calm. Next morning she weighed anchor and steered to the bottom of a bay [4] which possessed many sandy beaches and terminated in a point.[5] "An island with a level top lying off the point was named Isle Waterhouse." [6] It was almost covered with seals and seabirds; and on seeing the great numbers there Flinders imagined that the natives of these regions possessed no canoes and were unable to visit the island.

[1] The *Norfolk* was a decked boat of twenty-five tons built at Norfolk Island of the wood of the local pine tree (*Araucaria excelsa*).

[2] Collins, vol. ii, p. 160.

[3] Collins, *ibid.*

[4] Ringarooma Bay.

[5] Waterhouse Point.

[6] *Terra Australis*, introduction, p. cxlix.

MATTHEW FLINDERS

At noon the *Norfolk* bore away to westward along the land and at three o'clock passed between a sandy point and Isle Waterhouse. While the ship skirted the shore the explorers scanned it closely. "The coast now trended S.S.W., the land sloping up gradually from the sea to a moderate height with more open than wooded ground . . . : the soil appeared sandy and the grass but thinly grown." The rugged mountains still retained their general figure while the shore "no longer preserved any regular line of direction but fell back into sandy bights."

Two adjacent points with hillocks of almost bare sand received the "joint name" of Double Sandy Point; in sailing past the westernmost the *Norfolk* sighted a reef and hauled off upon the wind for the night a little to the westward of an island which was called Ninth Island.

On November 3rd, Flinders brought the ship inshore again and met with the first cliffs he had seen: one headland, nearly 300 feet high, being named Stony Head and a rocky islet north-west of it Tenth Island,[1] upon which a few overgrown seals were sunning themselves. Stony Head formed the extremity of a ridge that stretched across the low sandy land to the sea; on each side of the ridge the smoke of native fires was observed, which led Flinders to suspect that lakes would be found on the low flat land.

The aspect of the shore became less attractive as the ship continued to steer westward. Early in the afternoon a "low head," which was given that name, bore S. 35° W., and this apparently was the termination of another ridge. Beyond it, a gap in the land, at the back of a narrow deep bight, began to assume the appearance of an inlet and "excited so much hope" on board that Flinders says he ventured to bear away before the wind and advance rapidly towards it. By four o'clock the *Norfolk* had passed round Low Head and was steering south-east by south, up an inlet of more than a mile wide.

[1] Flinders had previously given numbers for the names of various small islands seen, but he has not told us which these were—some small islands off Cape Portland and the Swan Isles, probably.

"Some shoals not quite covered were left on the starboard hand" but, keeping a straight course which took her over strong ripplings of tide, the sloop stood on for the entrance of a basin or bay. After advancing for three miles in the direction of a low green island lying nearly in mid-channel, which she endeavoured to pass on the west side, the *Norfolk* went aground. Fortunately the strong flood dragged her over the soft bank without injury, and the tide drove her rapidly onward to the basin. Towards evening, Flinders dropped anchor between some "dry rocks and a point on the western side."

It was then perceived that no less than three arms or rivers discharged themselves into this basin and that the arm which came from the westward entered it quite close to where the sloop had anchored. Bass went off in his boat to examine the Western Arm, but on seeing a number of black swans swimming before him he gave chase to them instead, and, capturing four, brought them back at dusk. The sound of the splashing of his oars in that wide northern harbour of Tasmania, at the close of day, must have awakened echoes as strange as did Tasman's boats in a southern harbour on a December morning, 162 years before.

On November 4th, Bass landed with two men to explore the country, while Flinders began his survey of the port by examining the Western Arm. He found it narrow, with not more than three fathoms at the entrance—although one mile higher up there were seven fathoms near the starboard shore—and not accessible to ships beyond three miles. Some rocks lying at the entrance of the basin appeared to be covered with water at flood tide, but at other times were frequented by shags. One of these rocks was named Shag Rock. According to an observation made at noon the Shag Rock was in latitude 41° 8′ 29″ S.

Flinders afterwards landed on Green Island, and the tide being out he caught sight of the extensive shoals in Sea Reach, which were so numerous that he says he wondered how the sloop could have gone so far without "touching the ground." Green Island was covered with long, coarse grass and bushes and a few small trees. Large noisy gulls inhabited it, and black swans, several of their nests being found—deserted—

with broken egg-shells in them. On his return to the *Norfolk*, Flinders picked up Bass and his party. Bass brought back a kangaroo, weighing between eighty and ninety pounds, which he had shot during his excursion, and he stated that all the kangaroos he had seen were larger than those around Port Jackson.

On November 5th, Flinders searched for fresh water unsuccessfully in the Western Arm. Early in the morning of this day the vessel dragged her anchor and drifted towards Red Bill Point (so named because of the number of red-bills there) before the seamen on board had realized what had happened. She was brought up and moored about a cable's length from the north shore. On the following day, Flinders steered across the basin to renew his search for fresh water in that direction and tried to anchor at the entrance of the Eastern Arm under an island which he called Middle Island, and which he describes as " a very beautiful place."

Not finding a sufficient depth of water near the island, he took the *Norfolk* up the Eastern Arm for two or three miles, and dropped anchor " upon a five-fathom bank near a small cove on the northern shore." The cove itself was too shallow to admit the sloop. He then went on shore to inspect his surroundings and, besides discovering a small stream that ran from the hills into the south-east corner of the cove, he came upon some deep holes full of excellent water. On finding that he could water his ship conveniently at this place, Flinders bestowed upon it the name of Watering Cove. He saw many recent traces of natives. One Tasmanian came down to the opposite shore, set fire to the grass in different places, and then went away. There were other natives at Middle Island who carefully avoided the visitors. These were a man, a woman and a boy, who were espied walking up from the dry flat, which " at low water joins this island to the mainland," the two first being wrapped in small cloaks that appeared to be made of skins. The ship completed her watering in due course, but, feeling assured, from the depth of the water, strength of the tides and the width of this arm that they had discovered a river of some length, Flinders states that

he "did not feel justified in quitting it without further examination." [1]

On the 7th, therefore, he and Bass landed on the south shore and during the days that followed he continued to survey the Eastern Arm; bestowing appropriate names upon different parts of it, such as Long Reach, Point Rapid, Crooked Reach, Glen Bight, Brush Island (which "was thickly covered with flowering shrubs"), Round Head Bay, Whirlpool Reach, Egg Island, Shoal Point, Swan Point and Crescent Shore (where the river "became half salt and half fresh"). At this spot Flinders took his uppermost station upon a hill near the waterside; and from its summit could discern the course of the river curving to the E.S.E.; from here, too, he obtained a good view of the "blue peaks and caps of distant mountains" which he believed were those first sighted from Cape Portland.

On the 13th he inspected the Middle Arm as far as its head and disturbed a number of black swans feeding on the sea-grass that grew upon the shoals: this branch, however, he thought of "less consequence" than either of the others.

On the 15th, after a severe storm had raged tempestuously, fine weather set in, enabling the *Norfolk* to return to Outer Cove—opposite to Green Island. During their stay at this anchorage Flinders' party visited Middle Rock between the cove and the island where some fine mussels were gathered containing small discoloured pearls "such as are found in those of Adventure Bay."

On November 20th Bass and Flinders left the harbour, intending to continue their examination of the north coast—the main object of their voyage; but a fierce gale forced the ship back to Furneaux Islands. The *Norfolk* then encountered heavy seas which she "rode over," Flinders says, "with all the ease of an old and experienced petrel." Leaving the group where they had sought refuge on November 29th, Bass and Flinders again made sail to Van Diemen's Land, and for the second time they entered the newly discovered harbour, afterwards named by Captain Hunter, Port Dalrymple, in honour of Alexander Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

[1] It was afterwards named the Tamar.

THROUGH THE STRAIT

On December 3rd, after a short stay—a breeze having sprung up from the north-east—the *Norfolk* took her departure from Port Dalrymple and proceeded on her voyage. No sooner had she entered Bass Strait than her commander hauled her off the strange coast for the night. Before doing so, Flinders obtained a glimpse of the shores that he was about to examine. He noted a bight (now known as Port Sorell) under the high land where he thought there "may be some small opening," but the hazy weather "did not allow the coast line to be distinctly traced." He noticed too the curious shapes of the tops of the mountain ridges in the background—and more particularly a flat one towards the end of a ridge in the south-west. The furthermost land visible was a round hill, looking like an island, which bore nearly west from the masthead.

Next day the *Norfolk* resumed her voyage; the wind, being at N.N.E., she dared not approach too close to the shore. Round Hill Point bore S.W. 5 or 6 leagues, and, in the evening, the low land connecting it with the main could be readily distinguished three leagues away. During that night and the next day the winds were so light that the sloop could "gain little ground."

On December 5th, while she was making slow progress and beating with light airs and variable winds along the north coast, Bass and Flinders sighted what appeared to be a small flat-topped island. A closer examination showed them that it was not an island but was connected with Tasmania, and they gave it the name of Circular Head. A nearer projection of jagged appearance was called Rocky Cape, and a steep cliffy head, still nearer to them, Table Cape, because of its flat top.

Flinders was particularly struck by the peculiar shape of the first headland and describes it thus: "Circular Head is a cliffy round lump, in form much resembling a Christmas Cake and is joined to the main by a sandy isthmus. The land at the back is somewhat lower than the head and is formed into very gentle slopes. A slight covering of withered grass gave it a smooth appearance and some green bushes scattered over

it much resembled at a distance a herd of seals basking upon a rock."

Abreast the ship the shore was sandy. Behind it the land was low and well covered with wood. Flinders continues: "The sole remarkable object inland was the flat-topped peak which had very much the appearance of an extinguished volcano." There "was no land of an equal height near it." He took the bearings of the peak and found it to lie S.E. eleven leagues from Table Cape. When seen from this direction, as if to make it look still more remarkable, the flat top assumed the form of a pointed cone. Both Bass and Flinders noticed this curious mountain, and Flinders placed it upon his chart and wrote beneath it "Peak like a volcano." Bass also called it "a remarkable peaked mountain which might have been thought from its shape and height to have been once a volcano."

On December 6th, Table Cape, Rocky Cape, and Circular Head "appeared to lie nearly in a line of N. 62° W. and about ten miles apart from each other." The coast between them formed two shallow bights. "In the first and the most rocky," says Flinders, "an islet lies in the middle: the second is sandy and promised better anchorage, particularly near Circular Head." In a short time the aspect of the shore again altered: the picturesque well-wooded country, over which a wide view had extended, vanished and Bass and Flinders now beheld a rugged territory where the outlook was confined by a ridge of stony hills of which Rocky Cape was "no more than a projecting part."

The sloop had barely reached Circular Head when, instead of a clear passage to westward opening before her, the coast appeared to close suddenly and turn to the north-westward, and the *Norfolk* "seemed to be approaching the head of a bay rather than the issue of a strait." At some little distance to the north-westward, three hummocks could be distinctly seen, the southernmost and highest taking the form of a sugar-loaf.

It was certain that the ship's progress westward was stopped and she could proceed no farther in this direction. Beyond Circular Head a thick haze hung over the land which was only visible at intervals.

Flinders believed that he had come face to face with a large bight, and he writes: "patches of land within it were visible but as the wind was blowing directly into the bight the fear of getting embayed prevented its examination." He was also under the impression that the "patches of land" seen through the haze in front of him and "the land of the three hummocks" to the north-west, as well as some low land beyond it, all formed part of Tasmania, for he continues: "this trending of the coast so far north made me apprehend that it might be found to join the land near Western Port and thus disappoint our hopes of discovering a passage." At dusk, however, the haze cleared away, and the "lands in the bight became more distinguishable." He was able to take bearings of them; but a note in his journal shows that he did not place them on his chart. The note runs as follows: "In 1804 Mr. Charles Robbins, Acting-Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Buffalo*, was sent from Port Jackson to examine this great bight and from his sketch it is that the unshaded coast and soundings written at right angles are laid down in the chart." [1]

On the 8th, with a breeze from the south-westward and a gale threatening from that "boisterous quarter" Flinders and Bass left Circular Head and worked on a north-westerly course to the north-eastern island (of the Hunter Group), or "the land of the three hummocks" [2] as Flinders describes it in his journal. He now named it Three Hummock Island—the name it bears to-day. At six in the evening the *Norfolk* dropped anchor in a small sandy bay under the northernmost hummock—Circular Head being still visible in the south-east. Both Bass and Flinders landed to examine the coast and to see if food could be obtained in the island, but their search was unsuccessful. The tall, sturdy brushwood grew "so tightly together" that their dogs could hardly get through it. A few gum trees lifted their heads above the brush, but they looked poor, starved trees.

Here the flood tide was observed to come from the westward

[1] Flinders: Introduction to *Terra Australis*.

[2] The southernmost of the three hummocks is a conical peak 784 feet high, the northern hill is 551 feet above the sea, and the third or intermediate hill is 380 feet.—*Admiralty Sailing Directions*.

and not from the eastward as at Furneaux Islands, which was thought to be another proof that a passage existed between this "land" and Australia, and also that the entrance of the strait into the Indian Ocean was not far distant. Frequent traces of natives were seen. The remains of their fires, strewn around with shells of the sea-ear,[1] puzzled Flinders exceedingly, for he could not conceive how the natives reached the island if they had no canoes to bring them over from the mainland.[2]

At six o'clock on December 9th the *Norfolk* rounded the N.E. point of Three Hummock Island and steered along its north side, "having satisfied ourselves that the land of the Three Hummocks was divided from the lowland to the westward of it by a channel, three miles in width."[3] At daylight a large flock of gannets was seen issuing from the "great bight" to the southward. They "flew in a stream of from fifty to eighty yards in depth and of 300 yards in breadth." For a full hour and a half this stream of birds continued their flight without interruption, and Flinders says: "at a rate little inferior to the swiftness of a pigeon . . . the number could not have been less than one hundred millions, and we were led to believe that there must be in the large bight one or more uninhabited islands." It is to be regretted that Robbins' Journal, which would have thrown so much light on his exploration of this bight, has been lost. We know, however, that there was fresh water on Robbins Island, for Robbins found it there.

The *Norfolk* now went through the channel between Hunter and King Islands, which is thirty-eight miles wide and forms one of the entrances into Bass Strait. Before sailing through it she passed the entrance to Hope Channel, the small passage dividing Three Hummock Island from Hunter Island. Flinders writes: "The channel which separates it [Three Hummock Island] from the land to the west [Hunter Island] is at least two miles in width and is deep . . . the north end of the

[1] *Haliotis gigantea.*

[2] The natives of the west coast possessed rough canoes, but Flinders tells us that later voyagers who came there saw the Tasmanians swimming over to the island "in bodies."

[3] Hope Channel.

land [Hunter Island] is a sloping rocky point,[1] and the first projection which opened round it, was at S. 32° W., 5 or 6 miles." When they reached the rocky sloping point, Bass and Flinders do not seem to have been aware that they had now sailed through Bass Strait from end to end, or that they were at the place where they had most wished to be, and that their ship was even then in the Indian Ocean.

As they gazed southwards beyond the " first projection " (along the west coast of Hunter Island where the west point of Cuvier Bay juts out prominently), Flinders remarks that there " was nothing like mainland to be seen," and he adds : " indeed this western land [Hunter Island] itself had very little appearance of being such either in its form or its poor starved vegetation." [2] On looking at the narrow strip of land on the chart one can realize how little resemblance it would have borne to a mainland coast, and before long Flinders himself proved that Hunter Island was not connected with Tasmania.

After leaving Cape Keraudren, the great truth that they had passed through Bass Strait dawned upon the two navigators. Flinders has told us how it was made known to them. " So soon as we had passed the north sloping point, a long swell was perceived to come from the south-west such as we had not been accustomed to for some time." Then, from this most dreary and barren island of all the barren Hunter Group, Bass and Flinders looked over the wide expanse that spread before them into the distance and watched the heavy rolling sea that came surging towards them from the south-west. Flinders thus describes its coming : " It broke heavily upon a small reef,[3] lying a mile and a half from the point, and upon all the

[1] The sloping rocky point in 40° 24′ S., 144° 47′ E., which forms the south side of this entrance into Bass Strait from the Indian Ocean and only discovered by Bass and Flinders after a hard battle with the wind and waves, now bears the French name of Cape Keraudren.

[2] Bass however describes Cape Keraudren as " a pointed part of the main."

[3] The reef is now called Dangerous Bank. Flinders marks its situation. In *Admiralty Sailing Directions* we learn that it is seven cables in extent, north-east and south-west, and is distant 1.9/10 miles from Cape Keraudren. The sea breaks upon it mainly with a moderate swell, so that apparently when Bass and Flinders came there the weather was rough. " The tidal stream sets strongly over the bank and round the Cape."

western shores, but although it was likely to prove troublesome and perhaps dangerous, Mr. Bass and myself hailed it with joy and mutual congratulations as announcing the completion of our long wished for discovery of a passage into the Southern Indian Ocean."

Towards noon, on December 9th, the *Norfolk's* course was directed to a small rocky island six miles westward from Cape Keraudren. The long swell which "had just before made its appearance" broke violently upon the island, throwing a furious surf on all sides. Its summit was whitened over with birds—"there were white patches which we took to be . . . some acres in extent." Bass went on shore and on landing "had to fight his way up the cliffs with the seals, and afterwards had to make a road through the albatrosses which were sitting upon their nests and almost covered the surface of the island."[1] The albatrosses were everywhere innumerable, and the island therefore was given the name of Albatross Island. Flinders, who had been standing off and on, awaiting his friend's return, could see no land to northward but noticed, to the south-westward, "a black lump of rock, somewhat pyramidal" five or six leagues distant. It rose 240 feet above the sea and he called it the Black Pyramid, and another steep and rocky island bearing S. 35° E. about four leagues—he called Steephead Island. The ship steered towards it, but the tide set so strong that she was obliged to pass to leeward of a smaller black rock five miles away.[2] Beyond it again Flinders saw the southern end of the land that stretched southward from Cape Keraudren, and he knew then that this was not the mainland of Tasmania but merely another island belonging to the same group. He named it Barren Island. It was, as already stated, afterwards called Hunter Island,[4] and Flinders gave to the whole group the name of the Hunter Group. "This group," he writes, "has the appearance of having been long and constantly beaten by strong winds and high seas, and the westernmost [coasts] seem scarcely accessible

[1] *Terra Australis*, Introduction. It is in lat. 40° 22′ S., long. 144° 40′ E.
[2] South Black Rock Islet—a round mass 127 feet high.
[3] A channel called Hunter Passage divides this island from Tasmania.
[4] The French a little later called it Fleurieu Island.

by reason of the steep cliffs with which they are girt. If seals should inhabit these I judge they will remain unmolested."

After he had met with another cliffy island, four or five miles south of Steephead, " to which I have given the name of Trefoil Island, its form appearing to be nearly that of a clover leaf," Flinders at last came to the shores of Tasmania. There was no mistaking this steep and frowning coast, and he writes : " The north-west cape is a steep black head . . . which I call Cape Grim. This north-west point is terminated by steep black cliffs and there are two lumps of rock off it equally high and inaccessible.[1] On the other side of the north-west point the coast trends south, a little easterly, for seven or eight miles in high dismal-looking cliffs which appear as if they had not had respite from the dashing of the heavy seas for this thousand years. South of the cape, the black cliffs extend seven or eight miles when the shore falls back to a sandy bay. Our situation at dusk was three miles from the cliffs with Cape Grim bearing N. 18 E." [2]

The wind being strong and the night dark and tempestuous, the *Norfolk* kept as much as possible under the land. In the morning she was driven far to the south-westward. At eight o'clock on December 10th, she again made sail to come in with the west coast, and at noon was ten miles distant from West Point. The shore consisted of sandy beaches separated by points with many straggling rocks lying off them. At the back of the beach the land was low for two or three miles and then rose gently to a ridge of low barren hills. An inland mount in the S.E. appeared to be the north end of a second chain much higher and more thickly wooded than the first ridge. " The mount is named Mount Norfolk after my little vessel," remarks Flinders.[3]

The sloop was now forced to haul off the land, for the wind had changed and it was nearly five o'clock on the morning of December 11th before she could again approach the coast,

[1] " A coast so steep should be avoided in the night."—*Admiralty Sailing Directions.*

[2] Flinders' MS. Journal.

[3] Introduction to *Terra Australis.*

meeting with it a few miles from where she had left it. Behind some low cliffs, passed at 7 o'clock, there appeared an opening like a river whose course seemed to run northward between the front and back ridges of hills.

On the south side of this small entrance, on a sandy beach, smoke was seen rising from an expiring fire, this being the first fire noticed on the west coast. Two miles distant from the riverlike opening there were two conical rocks. The *Norfolk* had in fact reached Pieman's River, the exploration of which is told in a subsequent chapter. Her commander did not name it and he writes: "We did not think that there was passage-room for anything larger than a boat, as a reef from the north head appeared to extend almost across the entrance." He was fully aware that he was now approaching the most historic part of the west coast—if not of the whole of Tasmania—the place of Tasman's landfall. He describes the two mountains which he says "appear to have been the smaller mountains seen by Tasman to the north-east, on his discovering this land," and he adds: "I have therefore named the first Mount Heemskerk and the latter Mount Zeehaen after his two ships.[1] At noon the observed latitude was 42° 2′ 11″. The longitude I reckoned to be 145° 16′ E."

To this part of the coast on November 24th, 1642, the Dutch seaman, Tasman had come. On the previous day before land had been sighted, the *Heemskerck's* rudder was found broken "at top in the tiller-hole," so he at once hauled to windward under reduced sail and "fitted a cross-beam to either side." He then kept on his easterly course. The day following was fine and the sky clear. At noon he was in lat. 42° 25′ S., long. 163° 31′ E. (by observation). "In the afternoon about four o'clock," he writes in his journal, "we saw land bearing east by north of us at about ten miles distance from us"; the land sighted was very high. "Towards evening we also saw east-south-east of us, three high mountains, and to the north-east two more but less high than those to southward."

[1] "At noon on Nov. 24th, 1642, Tasman's latitude was 42° 25′ S.," says J. Backhouse Walker. "It is therefore probable that the first land seen by Tasman was the mountains N. of Macquarie Harbour."

Tasman then stood out to sea for the night, but next day again approached the coast and he writes : " this land being the first land we have met with in the South Sea and not known to any European nation we have conferred on it the name of Antony Van Diemen's Land in honour of the Hon. Governor-General, our illustrious master [1] who sent us to make this discovery."

BASS AND FLINDERS CIRCUMNAVIGATE TASMANIA

From here Bass and Flinders continued to sail down the west coast, rounded South-West Cape and South Cape and spent some time in surveying the Derwent River as well as the different capes and bays at the head of Tasman's Storm Bay. On January 3rd, 1799, they sailed out of Pruen Cove (of Hayes), whence they took their departure from the southern shores of Tasmania, and after sailing up its east coast finally completed their circumnavigation of the island.

On their return to Port Jackson, Captain Hunter was highly pleased with the account they gave of their explorations. The map of Tasmania drawn by Flinders especially appealed to the Governor, for upon it Flinders had combined the latest discoveries of Bass and himself in Northern Tasmania with those which had been made previously by English explorers in the southern portion of the island, copying largely from Cook's chart of Adventure Bay, Hayes's chart of D'Entrecasteaux Channel (and the entrance to the Derwent), Cox's sketch of Oyster Bay and Furneaux's chart of the east coast. But there was still a blank left on it in the north-west corner.[2]

Henceforth, at Port Jackson, Tasmania was regarded as a British possession. It had, of course, been included within the boundaries of the territory over which Governor Phillip had

[1] Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

[2] On the copy of Flinders' original chart of Van Diemen's Land Robbins Island is not shown. It appears, in its true situation, on the chart of Tasmania in Flinders' Atlas, where the name " Robbins Passage " has been bestowed upon the narrow strip of water which separates the island from the mainland.

been placed in authority in 1788, but at that date neither its extent nor its outlines were known. Flinders' map first revealed the country's true size and shape.

During the governorship of Hunter, no settlements were formed there. His successor, Governor King, from the time that he took over the administration, seems to have been anxious to see Tasmania colonized. At first he planned to send settlers to King Island in Bass Strait; for King saw that, although the discovery of Bass Strait shortened the journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Sydney by a week at least, the knowledge of its existence made Tasmania's isolated position apparent to the rest of the world. Time passed and still no orders to form a colony there were received from England, possibly because the Home Government had already decided to send ships and settlers to Port Phillip, on Australia's south coast.

King's anxiety greatly increased when, in 1802, the French ships *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* reached Tasmania. During the sojourn of Commodore Baudin's officers at their different anchorages they surveyed its shores very thoroughly, and particularly the south-east, east, and north coasts—Faure and Freycinet even entering Port Dalrymple. Flinders' chart was criticized and corrected by these officers, and it was very evident from the manner in which the French carried out their work that they had received orders to survey the whole island. But they ran short of provisions, scurvy broke out on board their ships, and they were forced to call at Port Jackson.

It was natural, therefore, that upon their departure from Sydney, when King heard a rumour that they intended to take possession of a port in Tasmania, he should send after them Acting-Lieutenant Robbins in the *Cumberland*, who, on finding the French vessels at anchor at King Island, immediately hoisted the Union Jack there, and saluted it daily during their stay. It was the sight of the British flag flying on this island that is reported to have drawn from Baudin the comment that "the English were worse than the Pope, for whereas he grasped half the world the English took the whole of it."

Baudin ridiculed the action of the British officer, and wrote to King assuring him that the rumour was without foundation, but he added: "Perhaps he [Robbins] has come too late, as for several days before he hoisted the flag over our tents, we had left in prominent parts of the island, which I still name after you, proofs of the period at which we visited it." This insinuation raised King's ire, and he made a note on the margin of Baudin's letter: "If Mr. Baudin insinuates any claim of this visit, the island was first discovered in 1798 by Mr. Reid in the *Martha* and afterwards seen by Mr. Black in the *Harbinger* and surveyed by Mr. Murray in February, 1802;" Murray being then in command of the armed tender *Lady Nelson*, which had surveyed King Island from Cape Farewell to Seal Bay.

The presence of the French ships hurried on the British colonization of Tasmania considerably, for it was now realized at home that the French might lay claim to some portion of it. In 1803 Governor King embarked a party of colonists under Lieutenant John Bowen, R.N., who had been appointed commandant, and dispatched them to the Derwent River in the *Lady Nelson* and the *Albion* whaler. On their arrival Bowen formed his establishment at a spot which had been named Risdon by John Hayes (Commander of the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*), but which a little later was called Hobart by Bowen.[1]

In October of the same year two vessels, H.M.S. *Calcutta* and the ship *Ocean*, arrived at Port Phillip from England, bringing Colonel Collins with the settlers who were to be established on the southern shores of Australia. The site of the Port Phillip settlement was deemed unsuitable, and, after a stay of barely three months, Collins forwarded a request to Governor King that he might be allowed to move the whole establishment to Tasmania.

Governor King gave his consent, leaving Collins to decide

[1] In the following year, on arriving at the Derwent, Collins fixed the site for his settlement at Sullivan's Cove on the opposite side of the river. A little later, by Governor King's orders, Bowen's settlement was moved down to that place and the two establishments became one, Collins retaining for it the name of Hobart. Bowen with his officials returned to Sydney.

whether he should move his people to Hobart or to Port Dalrymple. At the same time orders were given for the *Lady Nelson*, under Lieutenant Symons, to be made ready to leave Sydney and sail back to Port Phillip with the *Ocean*, the vessel which had brought Colonel Collins's dispatches. The colonial schooner *Francis* and the *Edwin* whaler were also sent from Sydney to assist Collins to carry out his new task.

Owing to the rough weather the ships were delayed in reaching their destination. The *Lady Nelson* was singularly unfortunate: so rough was the weather on arriving in Bass Strait that "after beating a fortnight against a south-westerly wind," she was obliged to bear up for the Kent Group. Twice she left her anchorage there in order to try and reach her destination, and twice she had to return to port again. Meanwhile the *Ocean* had arrived at Port Phillip on December 12th, and the *Francis*, bringing Governor King's dispatches, on the following day.

On receiving the Governor's reply, Colonel Collins decided to repair with his establishment to the Derwent; but before he left Port Phillip he sent Mr. William Collins, his cousin, in the *Francis* to survey Port Dalrymple and to report upon its suitability for a settlement. During the stormy voyage to Port Phillip, in passing the Kent Group, Mr. Rushworth, Master of the *Francis*, had observed smoke rising from one of the islands and, being apprehensive for the *Lady Nelson's* safety, he informed Colonel Collins of this. Consequently, when the *Francis* sailed for Port Dalrymple, on December 24th, the Master was directed to call at the group and ascertain who was on shore there. This he did, and he found the *Lady Nelson* still in the cove where she had sought refuge.

On her arrival at the Kent Group, the *Francis* being in a very leaky condition, was sent back to Sydney, and Mr. Collins and the party appointed to survey Port Dalrymple were embarked in the *Lady Nelson*, which two days later, sailed for Tasmania, and on January 1st, 1804, entered the harbour of Port Dalrymple.

The *Lady Nelson* remained at Port Dalrymple until January 18th, 1804, and, while the brig lay at anchor,

Mr. Collins explored the harbour and river. Meanwhile Mr. Robert Brown, the well-known botanist, who was among those on board, went in search of new plants. He was not very successful, the whole number observed not much exceeding 300, " of which about 40 were new and, I believe, nondescript."

Collins traced the shores of the Eastern Arm for some distance beyond the farthest point marked on Flinders' chart. From Middle Island he proceeded to Egg Island, another of Flinders' discoveries. Opposite to this island he observed a small creek that discharged its waters into the main river. There was a beautiful waterfall at its head and because of its convenient situation and the ample supply of fresh water he obtained there, Collins named it Supply Creek.

From Egg Island he went up the river to Open Reach (so named from its shape), and noticed a great deal of level land in the neighbourhood of Swan Point. He next discovered Upper Island—a name which does not appear on Flinders' chart. On this island there were forty or fifty acres of land entirely covered with wood. From Upper Island to the head of the main river " the country had a delightful appearance "—level and hilly. A mile and a half above Upper Island the *Lady Nelson* was forced to anchor—and, from there, the remainder of the excursion was made by Collins either by boat or on foot.

On arriving at the main head of the river he saw that it was formed by two branches, one of which came from the south-eastward and the other from a south-westerly direction. Collins first traced the branch from the south-eastward and found its water perfectly fresh and good. At the place where he turned back he states that its width " was not less than 70 or 80 yards," and from this point its course went winding in an east-south-east direction towards the junction of two mountain ranges. He thought the river would be navigable for small craft.

Collins next examined the branch of the river running from the south-west. Upon " opening the entrance " he discovered a large cataract falling over the rocks " near a quarter of a

mile up a straight gully between perpendicular rocks about one hundred and fifty feet high. The beauty of the scene," he remarks, " is probably not surpassed in the world. This great waterfall or cataract is most likely one of the greatest sources of this beautiful river, every part of which abounds with swans, ducks, and other kinds of wild fowl " ; and this would seem to be the only occasion upon which Collins—who is very matter-of-fact—allowed himself to display enthusiasm whilst carrying out his surveys.

It is to be regretted that his chart of the river is missing ; fortunately, a very old and faded copy of his survey of the entrance to Port Dalrymple, which has been reproduced, is still preserved at the Admiralty. At the end of his report he states that in his opinion " the river Dalrymple possesses a number of local advantages requisite for a settlement and merits some attention."

Lieutenant Symons, however, also made a sketch of the upper part of the river, a copy of which we are able to reproduce. It depicts the river's course, from where Flinders had left it, to its main head, and shows the branch that ran from the south-east (which was named, later, the North Esk by Colonel Paterson). It will be seen that a small portion of the South Esk appears on it as well, and that the chart bears two inscriptions, one of which tells us the exact place where Flinders' survey ended, and the other the situation of the *Lady Nelson*'s highest anchorage—after she had passed Upper Island—on the occasion of Collins's visit. These inscriptions do not seem to have been placed on the chart by Symons, but to have been added to it subsequently.

PORT DALRYMPLE

At the end of this year—1804—Lord Hobart issued definite instructions to Governor King to send colonists to Port Dalrymple and to found a settlement on Tasmania's northern shores. When the British colours were actually hoisted on November 10th, owing to the rough weather met with on the Australian coast, only two, out of the four ships that had been

ordered to take part in the ceremony had arrived. These were H.M.S. *Buffalo* and the colonial schooner *Integrity*.

For the second time possession was taken of the country on behalf of Great Britain, with the usual formalities. The Lieutenant-Governor on landing was saluted with eleven guns by the flagship, and a royal salute was fired when the Union Jack was hoisted. On the 13th the general disembarkation took place from the *Buffalo* and the *Integrity* at Outer Cove, where Colonel Paterson had fixed his camp. Its surroundings were delightful, the harbour extending far inland for many miles without interruption.

On the 14th some of the colonists encountered a party of Tasmanian natives in the bush. At the sight of the white people they gave a furious shout, and two hundred of their number followed the British back to their camp at Outer Cove. Here overtures were made and they grew more conciliatory. But Paterson's friendly endeavours were occasionally interrupted by an indignant clamour, which, beginning with a single individual, ran rapidly through their lines, the natives "biting their arms as a token either of vengeance or defiance." At last they withdrew peaceably, but "were positive in forbidding us to follow them." On the 21st the *Lady Nelson* and the *Francis* arrived at Port Dalrymple, both in a disabled condition—having experienced a tempestuous voyage—and, on the following day, orders were given for the baggage and the bricks, brought from Sydney to build houses for the settlers, to be sent on shore.

On November 28th the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by Ensign Piper and Mr. Jacob Mountgarrett, embarked in the *Lady Nelson* and set out to examine the upper reaches of the river, and to obtain knowledge of the inland country and its productions. The brig sailed with the "afternoon flowing tide" advancing as far as Middle Island, where she dropped anchor. Next day the wind blew hard and she was forced to remain in the same place. Paterson landed and traversed the south bank of the river and found the whole shore generally "composed of rich iron ore." At five o'clock the *Lady Nelson* was again able to weigh and continue her course up

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the Eastern Arm, and on the following day at noon, in fine, clear weather, she came close in with a small island, where, on the southern shore, there appeared to be good pasture and lofty trees, but little water.

The entries in the *Lady Nelson*'s log-book show that during the voyage, Colonel Paterson landed frequently to examine the land on the river banks, and the brig also seems just as frequently to have run aground on the mud flats that lined her course. The Lieutenant-Governor was struck by the richness of the soil and the fertility of the country which he saw during his excursion. On December 1st the *Lady Nelson* passed Upper Island and arrived at the section of the river first seen by Collins. Above the island the brig went aground, and therefore the Cataract was visited by boat.

Colonel Paterson began his observations at One Tree Reach, which he tells us "is the extent of Mr. Collins's survey." This reach, presumably, was some distance beyond Upper Island, for Collins had stated on the occasion of his visit that "one mile and a half above the island was the *Lady Nelson*'s uppermost anchorage."[1] The sketch drawn by Symons in January, 1804, also shows that the brig anchored beyond the island. From here, however, Collins had continued to explore the river either by boat or on foot, and it is difficult to say whether One Tree Reach terminated his excursion in the main river or in its south-eastern or south-western branch, both of which he had entered.

On December 2nd the *Lady Nelson* came to anchor about "a quarter of a mile below the Cataract River"; she was unable to proceed beyond this point, possibly on account of the mud flats, and Colonel Paterson, accompanied by Lieutenant Symons, Mr. Mountgarrett and a guard of soldiers, set out with the *Lady Nelson*'s boat and his own wherry to survey the head of the river. He inspected numberless reaches in his passage, all of which he describes in his journal, and at last landed upon the right bank and pitched his tent on rising ground overlooking a beautiful plain. The open spaces here delighted him. Wide expanses were ripe for

[1] *Hist. Records of N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 305.

settlement, and he mentions one place in particular where " thousands of acres may be ploughed without felling a tree."

On arriving at the head of the river he admired the rapidity of the falls " running over small pebbles with great force," and on December 4th, having turned into the branch which ran to the south-west, called by him the South Esk, he explored it, in company with Mr. Symons, for some distance. On December 5th, feeling assured that he had obtained all the general information about the capabilities of the country that he required, he made his way down the river. The falls proved so rapid on the return journey that the boats became unmanageable and the iron keel band was torn off his wherry. On reaching the Cataract the brig was found " where we had left her at anchor."

On the following day Colonel Paterson made an excursion to the Cataract ; and, like Collins, when he first saw this beautiful waterfall he was filled with admiration. He writes : " The entrance into the first fall is picturesque beyond description. The stupendous columns of basalts on both sides, together with the narrow entrance up the Cataract have a very grand appearance, and, what made it more so, was a number of black swans which could not fly in the smooth water close to the fall. Had it not been for the strength of the stream we might have caught every one of them." Here he saw the flax plant of the Hawkesbury growing luxuriantly. He discovered " at the joining of the two runs," where they entered the main river, a small, fertile valley covered with excellent verdure set amid high rocky hills ; and everywhere, even among the rocks, there was good grass.

Paterson now named the main river, from its head down to as far as Outer Cove, the River Tamar, and the branch that he had explored so diligently on the previous day he called the South Esk. The North Esk he named later, apparently. On Symons's sketch at the Admiralty, showing the extent of Collins's explorations, the pencilled inscriptions " North Esk " (along its course), " South Esk " (where that river is seen), and " Launceston " (south of the junction) have been added to it, but these pencillings appear very faintly in our reproduction.

The chart is certainly not the original drawing made by Symons but merely a copy, probably drawn by King, for in the description given in one corner of it the name of the former is not spelled correctly.

In 1806 we find Colonel Paterson informing Governor King of the discovery of the North Esk, stating that a new river had been discovered seven miles from the Cataract, beyond which it "had never been seen," and adding that it "was a much finer river than the South Esk." We glean from this that Paterson possibly overlooked the chart or was not fully aware of the extent of Collins's surveys in this direction. Unfortunately, neither Collins's chart of the river's course, nor the one made by Paterson, seems to have been preserved. Paterson afterwards examined the Western Arm and the Middle Arm. At the Western Arm the Lieutenant-Governor found a more suitable site for a settlement than that which he had chosen at Outer Cove. It was at the head of the Western Arm "between two 'runs' of fresh water,"[1] which were named by him Kent's Burn and McMillan's Burn—in honour of the Captain and the Surgeon of the *Buffalo*. He decided to move the people to this spot without delay, giving the place the name of Yorktown.[2]

THE DISCOVERY OF ROBBINS ISLAND

When he had returned to Port Jackson, after circumnavigating Tasmania, Flinders did not forget the "great bight" hidden in haze on the north-west coast which had baffled him. And Governor King, who was quite as interested in the exploration of Tasmania, was also determined that it should be surveyed and the mystery concerning it cleared up. But some years went by before a ship could be spared to undertake this duty.

In October, 1804, however, when H.M.S. *Buffalo* conveyed Colonel Paterson to Port Dalrymple, Captain Kent was

[1] They had been seen previously by Captain Kent.

[2] Yorktown and Georgetown were successively chosen as the site of the capital of the Port Dalrymple settlement, but were relinquished in 1806 in favour of Launceston.

instructed—" after the Lieutenant-Governor and other passengers were landed and the *Buffalo* was secured "—to leave the ship in charge of Charles Robbins, Acting-First Lieutenant, and " to ascertain whether a harbour existed on the north-west coast of Van Diemen's Land between Hunter Isles and Circular Head," proceeding " in such vessel as you may prefer to execute that service."

" If you should deem it more advisable to remain by the ship," continues Governor King, " you will direct Acting-Lieutenant Robbins to perform the service, taking care that the said vessel is victualled for at least two months from the time of her leaving Port Dalrymple." Kent was also requested in the event of his choosing to send Mr. Robbins [1] on exploration, to return to Port Jackson with the *Buffalo*. King further instructed Kent to obtain exact knowledge of the situation of Cape Albany Otway, which he complains " has by no means been well ascertained."

During his stay in Tasmania, Captain Kent decided that Mr. Robbins should carry out the Governor's orders and that he himself should return to Sydney in the *Buffalo*. Therefore, when that ship quitted Port Dalrymple on November 28th, the *Integrity*, a cutter of fifty-nine tons,[2] which Kent had selected to make the voyage of exploration, accompanied her out of the harbour.

On the same day Captain Kent addressed a letter to Governor King, informing him that Robbins had been dispatched on his mission. He wrote : " At half past 8 a.m., with a light breeze to the southward and eastward, we got out to sea. After putting Robbins on board the *Integrity*, she bore up for Hunter's Isles and we stood to northward."

Robbins appears to have spent the whole of December in carrying out his surveys. By his researches on this voyage Governor King says he " discovered that there is no other

[1] Robbins was a native of Barnstaple and had joined the Royal Navy at Madras in January, 1801, as midshipman. He served in H.M.S. *Texel* until February 16th, 1802, when he joined H.M.S. *Buffalo*, being rated A.B., and on March 16th he was promoted master's mate. In the same year he served as acting-lieutenant on board the *Cumberland*.

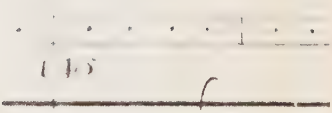
[2] This vessel was launched at Sydney in January 1804. Her complement consisted of the Master, Chief Mate, 2nd Mate and six Able Seamen.

port within the straits than those already known, viz. Port Dalrymple on the south and Port Phillip and Western Port on the north side . . . exclusive of ascertaining these objects the exact situation of Cape Albany Otway (the north Cape of the west entrance of the straits) is now ascertained." [1]

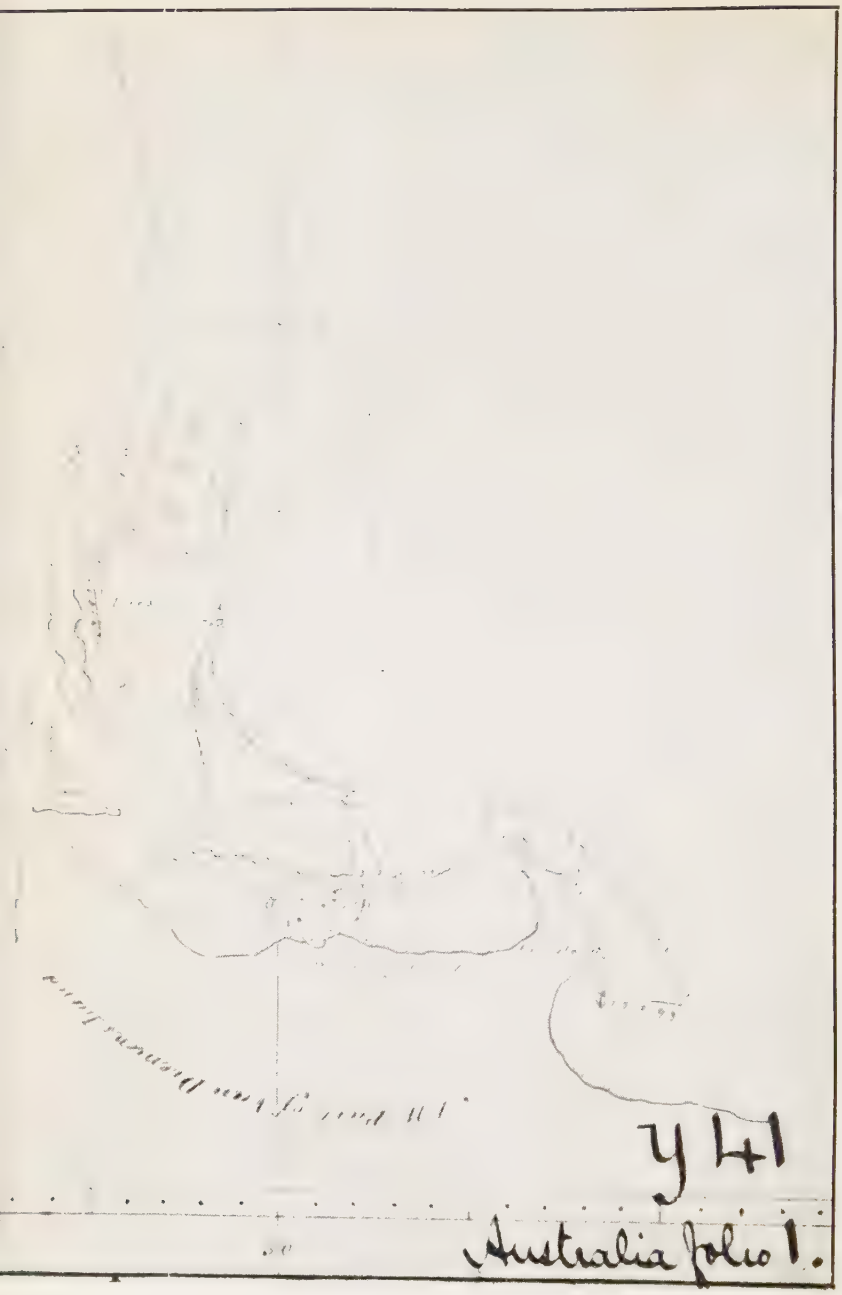
While carrying out these investigations Robbins drew a chart of Bass Strait which would have shown us the extent of his explorations. This, like his journal, is missing, and therefore it is impossible to relate exactly what he accomplished during his absence. He seems, however to have had orders to begin his survey at Circular Head, and from the fact that the *Integrity* left the *Buffalo* as soon as she got out of the harbour of Port Dalrymple, and as Kent has told us " bore up for Hunter's Isles," he probably sailed along the north coast westwardly until he arrived at his starting point, which in his sketch (of Robbins Island) appears to have been to the south of the Bluff.

From here he steered round Circular Head and North Point, taking regular soundings and entering the wide bend in the coast which is formed by Perkins Bay.[2] He sailed across it and at last found his way into the passage which Flinders afterwards named Robbins Passage in his honour. At its entrance it resembles the mouth of a river and is two miles wide between the north point of Perkins Island and Cape Elie, the south-east point of Robbins Island. Robbins anchored well within the passage—which two miles from the entrance is only four cables wide and is divided into two narrow gutters with banks of sand and mud—and, after he had penetrated it, he discovered that the passage separated a large island from the mainland of Tasmania—the island as well as the passage afterwards being called after him.[3] Landing on the island, he explored it and saw there many fresh-water swamps, and doubtless found that these were the haunts of the huge flocks of sea-birds which had been seen in such

[1] King to Hobart.
[2] Perkins Bay is eight miles wide and four and a half miles deep.
[3] At first Robbins Island was called Low Sandy Isle in the maps.



INS'S CHART OF NORTH-WEST TAS
the Admiralty, and is reproduced



MANIA

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amazing numbers by Bass and Flinders.[1] In the corner of the island nearest to his anchorage he seems to have discovered another fresh-water swamp or lagoon,[2] where he probably watered his ship.

When he had finished his survey of Robbins Passage he took the *Integrity* round Cape Elie and steered along the east side of Robbins Island until he arrived at Ransonnet Bay, a slight indentation in the coast, which, with Perkins Bay, farther to the southward, formed the "great bight" seen through the haze by Bass and Flinders. Ransonnet Bay had been visited by the French surveying vessel *Casuarina* [3] in 1803, and it is due to her visit that French names survive for different parts of the Hunter Group. Ransonnet Bay is long, open, and shallow, and evidently Robbins, in accordance with his instructions, examined the two bays thoroughly and assured himself before he left the coast that there was no large harbour in this part of Tasmania.

To the north of Ransonnet Bay he marks on his chart—in the upper part of Robbins Island—an inlet now known as Mosquito Sound or Cove, and apparently he was not aware that a narrow winding passage behind it completely separates the land there, forming another island which was named later Walker Island. He afterwards directed his course northward towards Three Hummock Island, which the *Integrity* rounded just as the *Norfolk* had done previously. The cutter ran along its north coast, but Robbins did not follow the *Norfolk's* track as far as Cape Keraudren, for he wished to examine Hope Channel (discovered by Flinders) which divides Hunter Island from Three Hummock Island. His chart shows that he sailed his ship down this passage, taking regular soundings and anchoring at its southern end. While the *Integrity* was at anchor he landed on the west side of Three Hummock Island and found fresh water, represented on Flinders' chart as a swamp

[1] These birds also frequent the Petrel Islets, a cluster of four principal islets off the north end of Walker Island.

[2] Robbins' Chart of N.W. Tasmania is reproduced opposite this page, and it is the only remaining record of his survey. Although a very rough sketch, its usefulness is apparent, for it enabled Flinders to fill up the blank in his own chart of Tasmania, which owing to the hazy weather he had left unfinished.

[3] The *Casuarina* had been built at Port Jackson.

or lagoon of considerable size. On leaving this anchorage Robbins sailed back again through Hope Channel, bade farewell to the Hunter Group and continued his voyage to Cape Albany Otway—now part of Victoria—which he also surveyed.[1]

TASMANIA'S EARLY GOVERNORS

The settlement established at Port Dalrymple by Colonel Paterson grew and flourished. Farms were marked out, forests were quickly brought under cultivation, and the open country stocked with sheep and cattle. Shortly after the settlement was made between 700 and 800 cattle were brought thither from India, and before long Port Dalrymple was able to supply Hobart with beef. Colonel Paterson doubtless did what he could to assist the settlers as far as lay in his power; for, besides being well known on account of his travels in Africa, he had possessed a farm at Port Jackson in the early days of that colony, and no one knew better than he did the requirements of the farmer and the pioneer.

From time to time he sent encouraging reports of Port Dalrymple's progress to Governor King and in 1805 we find him seeking to enlarge his own knowledge of the surrounding territory. He states that a small port "with a shoal river running into it had been fallen in with about twelve miles to the westward of Port Dalrymple." This was the break in the coast mentioned by Flinders in 1798, where he thought it "was possible that there might be a small opening." A colonial vessel, the *Governor King*, had entered it in 1804, mistaking it for Port Dalrymple, and Lieutenant Symons was sent to examine it and reported that it "had a bar-entrance on which there were only ten feet of water at low tide." It was afterwards called Port Sorell in honour of the third Lieutenant-Governor, and the river was named the Rubicon River.

[1] This seems to have been Robbins' last voyage of exploration. He left Sydney on June 26th, 1805, having been lent to the *Integrity* to voyage to Valparaiso with dispatches—under a flag of truce. He was never heard of again and it is conjectured that the vessel was either captured by Spaniards or foundered in mid-ocean.

Colonel Collins—the first Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land—died at Hobart in 1810 and was succeeded by Colonel Davey, who arrived in Tasmania in 1813. The ports were then thrown open to commerce, and trading vessels began to call regularly at Port Dalrymple. Colonel Paterson left the northern settlement in December, 1808, when Captain Brabyn ruled in his stead, and a few years later, by Lord Liverpool's orders, Launceston was united with Hobart. The Secretary of State wrote to Governor Macquarie on July 26th, 1811: "Port Dalrymple will be in future considered a dependency of the Derwent River and will be united with it under one Lieutenant-Governor, who will be subject of course to the direct control of the Governor of the colony [New South Wales], and will report to him on all matters relating to civil and military government."

Colonel Sorell, the third Lieutenant-Governor, who took over the reins of administration in 1817, was both capable and popular. During his rule, in 1819, the emigration of free settlers from England first began and English farmers were established on lands which until then "had been the range of the kangaroo" and the happy hunting ground of the Tasmanian native. Among other improvements, a road was cut through the woods from one end of the island to the other, with the result that Port Dalrymple became still more closely connected with Hobart.

Colonel Sorell was succeeded by another military officer—Colonel Arthur—who also is remembered as an energetic Governor. He visited different parts of the country, gave orders for more roads and bridges to be constructed, and divided the settled part of the island (this being its eastern side) into nine districts. Under his guidance the whole of Tasmania showed signs of increasing development, and in 1825 was declared, by Royal Proclamation, an independent colony.

The pioneers, who in the early days had naturally to contend with many difficulties and drawbacks, met with instant success under the improved conditions that had been established, and an era of prosperity set in. It was not

to be expected that indications of their good fortune could long remain unknown at home, and a Company was formed in London under the name of the Van Diemen's Land Company for the purpose of advancing agricultural and pastoral pursuits in the colony. In May, 1824, the Company resolved to apply to the Home Government for a grant of 500,000 acres in Van Diemen's Land. Earl Bathurst in April, 1825, partially acceded to their request, but in making them a grant of 250,000 acres asked a quit rent [1] of thirty shillings per annum for every £100 of the value of the good and productive land comprised in the grant.[2] Some poor and unproductive land appears to have been given in.

The Circular Head Settlement comprised 20,000 acres. Of this some 5,000 acres were contained in the "Christmas Cake" peninsula, the rest forming a tract immediately contiguous on the mainland and extending from Black River to Deep Creek. Starting from here, the officers of the Van Diemen's Land Company surveyed and explored many parts of North-Western Tasmania and gave to various portions of it the names they bear to-day.

[1] It was not to become payable until five years from the date of the grant had expired, and upon giving six months' notice the Company were to be allowed to reduce it.—Bischoff.

[2] The quit rent was remitted to the Company for each emigrant at the rate of £16 annually per man and £20 per woman.

S S°

Extensive

Plains

UDREN (NOT MARKED) IS :

SITUATED AT THE NORTHERN EXTREMITY OF BARREN ISLE

CHAPTER VII

THE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY

FEW schemes of colonization in southern waters afford more interesting reading than that of the Van Diemen's Land Company, which still flourishes. It is one long story of pioneering, and, since much has been said concerning the connexion of the *Caroline* with the Company, it will not be out of place here to describe their operations in Tasmania before that ship arrived and to relate how the Company came to make their settlement at Circular Head.

When a more or less definite understanding had been reached between His Majesty's Government and the Company respecting the extent of their land grant, the directors in London acted quickly. They appointed officers and dispatched them to the scene of their labours; and, having chartered the *Tranmere*, began to purchase sheep and secure suitable emigrants to make the long voyage.

The following is a list of the officers [1] who sailed in September, 1825, for Hobart on board the ship *Cape Packet*,[2] commanded by Captain Kelly:

Edward Curr [3]	- Chairman of Council and Agent at Hobart Town.
Stephen Adey	- Second Member of Council and Superintendent of the Company's land grant.
Alexander Goldie	- Agriculturist.
Henry Hellyer	- Architect and Surveyor.
C. P. Lorimer Joseph Fossey	- Land Surveyors.

[1] The gentlemen chosen to serve the Company in the colony were always termed "officers" and in the records are invariably referred to as "Mr."

[2] This ship was the first to carry the Company's servants and property to Tasmania.

[3] Mr. Curr and Mr. Adey were accompanied by their families.

Many of the mechanics and labourers who could not find a passage in the *Cape Packet* followed in the *Tranmere*, which sailed later with emigrants and live stock.

If the Company were fortunate in the choice of their directors in London, they were equally so in the selection of the men they chose to take charge of their interests in the country where their new property was situated. The name of Edward Curr, who was appointed their agent in Tasmania,[1] is familiar to all who have read the old histories of the colony, one of which was written by himself, but we can obtain a closer insight into the character of this remarkable man by a perusal of his letters, still preserved among the records of the Van Diemen's Land Company. It will be seen there that Edward Curr was what we should, in these days, describe picturesquely as a "live wire."

On leaving England each officer had been separately assigned his particular work. Briefly, Mr. Curr as Chairman and senior member of the Council "was charged with the execution in the island of all orders and instructions of the Court of Directors"; to him was given the superintendence of all the Company's servants and property subject to the control of the Council,[2] a ruling body which he was to call together "at least once in three months."

Mr. Adey was appointed second member of the Council and Commissioner for selecting and determining the boundaries of the land which the Lieutenant-Governor "will be authorized to make over to the Company." Mr. Adey's instructions were "to proceed with all persons . . . to the land and there cause to be erected for your own residence the house the Company are sending out in their own vessel and to direct the construction . . . of such other temporary buildings as may be requisite for the accommodation of the rest of the party. You will take upon yourself the superintendence of the farms, flocks, and buildings . . . you will see that

[1] Van Diemen's Land Company's *Records*, September 14th, 1825.

[2] The Company "at first committed its colonial affairs into the hands of a Council of three, but the divided sovereignty was impracticable and we find that the 'Potentate of the North,' as he (Mr. Curr) was sometimes called, soon reigned alone."—West's *History of Tasmania.*

substantial and proper buildings of all kinds for habitation, stores, and stock, are erected : the plan of a farm laid out . . . enclosures made, and the company's intentions carried into full effect."

Mr. Goldie, the Agriculturist, was similarly charged, being instructed to place himself under the orders of Mr. Curr and to act as " temporary third member of Council until a third member was appointed." Mr. Hellyer, the Surveyor, and his assistants, also received their orders. In conclusion the Company wished each and all of their servants a happy and prosperous voyage.

To Mr. Curr, too, was given a letter of introduction to Colonel Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, from the Van Diemen's Land Company, commending their officers to the goodwill of His Excellency, at the same time assuring the Lieutenant-Governor that the Court of Directors " had not confined themselves solely to an interested commercial policy in their instructions to their officers, but had also enjoined them to promote the interests of order, morality and religion."

One can picture this little band of men on landing at Hobart from the ship in March, 1826, as yet supplied with only part of their equipment and far from their destination—in fact, not even knowing what would be their destination. By these men afterwards the north-west corner of the island was explored, settlements were formed, and a large slice of Tasmania brought into a state of civilization ; but as yet no land was theirs, and most of the workers and much of the live stock intended for the embryo farms were still voyaging upon the high seas on board the *Tranmere*, the ship which preceded the *Caroline* to Tasmania. In addition to the letter to Colonel Arthur, Mr. Curr brought bills for 20,000 Spanish dollars which had been shipped by the Company in the *Cape Packet* to the President and Directors of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land for the use of the officers, so that financially they were well provided for.

Mr. Curr's first move was to obtain in Hobart—where he spent the autumn of 1826—the articles necessary to complete

his outfit and to purchase sheep [1] and cattle to swell the numbers of the flocks and herds that were to be imported. We soon find him applying for convict labour and then hiring or buying small trading vessels. "I have purchased the schooner *Nelson*," he writes, "Mr. Adey will arrange for the *Ellen*"; later sending this ship to Little Kangaroo Island (near Preservation Island) to fill up with barilla, and, at the same time, making preparations for the reception of the *Tranmere*'s passengers and stock, of which ship he says: "She can lie off Bruni Island to await instructions."

It was not Mr. Curr's fault altogether that the choosing of the grant of land turned out to be a very protracted business, for he had to find country suitable for sheep. In his letters we notice him constantly remarking that portions which appeared suitable in other respects were "too cold" for the sheep; and there were other difficulties.

Although the British Government appear to have acted liberally, the Company's servants were destined to meet with many obstacles in their endeavours to select the promised grant of land. These seem to have been due to the wording of the documents drawn up by the authorities in London to define the situation of the grant. In short, the grant was "to comprise 250,000 [2] acres of good arable and pasture land with as much more unproductive land as may be contained in the intervals between the fertile spots agreed upon," subject, of course, to the quit rent. The British authorities had agreed "to define the 250,000 acres to mean good land, fit for cultivation or pasture, clear of forests and such as the company might immediately occupy . . . it being understood that such selection does not interfere with located districts and was inaccessible by land."

Lord Bathurst had stated that the Company should receive their grant in the north-west district of the island; that district being considered as "bounded on the north by Bass Strait, on the west by the ocean, and on the east and south by

[1] Two thousand three hundred sheep were purchased in the colony by contract.

[2] Afterwards 350,000 acres in all were granted.

lines drawn from either shore so as to afford the necessary depth of country." The land, however, was to be in one continuous tract or block in the form of a square.[1]

The Secretary of State for the Colonies was further pleased "to promise that a reserve (or jumping-off ground) for the stock should be made" of country to the westward of Port Sorell until the Company's lands should be selected.[2] The words "it being understood such selection does not interfere with located districts," quoted above, proved to be a veritable stumbling block in Mr. Curr's path.

He had sent the stock that he had first purchased and the property of the Company to the Mersey [3] and formed a stock reserve north of Quamby's Bluff.[4] At these places much of the live stock was maintained while the officers were searching for suitable land. He also dispatched expeditions to the north coast (Mr. Adey sailed from George Town towards Cape Grim, landing at various places and visiting Circular Head) and into the country adjoining Quamby's Bluff, the Western Rivers and Port Sorell. In May and June, 1826, he attempted to select 40,000 acres (including the western marshes) to the westward of Port Sorell and "within 35 miles of the north coast," which he had explored; but in this he met with very firm opposition from the colonists and little less directly from the Lieutenant-Governor himself on the plea that the selection "would interfere with located districts and was accessible by land."

[1] The accompanying illustration on the opposite page will show the choice of blocks of 250,000 acres first offered to the Company by the home authorities.

[2] It was argued that Lord Bathurst had not mentioned Port Sorell. To this Mr. Curr replied: "Lord Bathurst has not clearly defined what he intended by the North West district, yet his words . . . admit of but one construction, namely, the land included between Cape Grim and Port Sorell." —*Records* of the Van Diemen's Land Company. Curr to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, June 17th, 1826.

[3] In his report of July 31st, 1826, Mr. Curr writes: "We remained in the neighbourhood of the second Western River, which we named the Mersey."

[4] It is said to have gained its name owing to the circumstance of a native, on being discovered there by a white party who were hunting kangaroos, "having cried out quamby! quamby! mercy! mercy!" (Parker). Mr. D. Gray was placed in charge there. Mr. Curr, among other instructions, writes to him (July 20th, 1827): "I wish that in your journal you would always specify the kind of weather you have at Quamby's." On the old maps of Arrowsmith the situation of the huts of the Van Diemen's Land Company at Quamby's River is shown.

This opposition Mr. Curr strove to overcome. In trying to show that he was working within the limits laid down by Lord Bathurst he writes: "I state without fear of contradiction that a cart cannot be taken in seven days from Mr. Dry's—the last farm marked on Scott's map—to Port Sorell."[1] It was, as far as then known, "wholly inaccessible by land," and he argues, "the colony had been established 23 years and who at that time has ever been at Port Sorell? Mr. Hardwick, who went by water. Of Captain Rolland's journey, the difficulties of which all but cost him his life, I never saw the account until my arrival here, and I am sure His Lordship had not seen them." But the Lieutenant-Governor did not give way, and Mr. Curr was compelled to seek the Company's grant in a wilder and more inaccessible part of the country.

The north-west corner of Tasmania had so far been left unexplored. A stray traveller like Mr. Hardwick may perhaps have come and gone. Mr. Hobbs had explored the coast. Small sealing boats had passed round Cape Grim, but no map had ever been made of the interior; and the officers of the Company, in addition to their responsibilities, found themselves in the light of explorers setting forth to discover paths into the unknown, and to form settlements and build houses where hitherto the only vestige of human habitation had been a native hut.

Mr. Curr, however, was undaunted. He drew up a methodical plan[2] by which the unknown territory should be explored in different directions by his officers, wherever he thought they would find desirable land. He next came to an arrangement with Jorgen Jorgensen, a Dane whose adventurous life had made him "remarkable even among vagabonds,"[3] to undertake further exploration on behalf of the Company.

Mr. Curr's orders to his people at this time bear witness to his boundless activity and to his great perseverance. He

[1] Port Sorell, as already stated, was discovered in 1804 by the colonial vessel *Governor King*; her master imagined it to be Port Dalrymple. The Rubicon River, which flows into it, was called by the colonists the Western River; when others were found beyond it the qualification "First" was added. In 1817 the port was named Port Sorell.

[2] Known as Curr's combined plan. [3] West's *History of Tasmania*.

dispatched Mr. Goldie and Mr. Fossey to reconnoitre the coastal districts south of Cape Grim. " Mr. Adey will go to the river next but one to the Mersey and be absent eight days. . . . If Mr. Hellyer finds he cannot get round the mountains to the neighbourhood of the Great Lake he must proceed in the direction of the mountain marked on Scott's map ' Peak like a volcano ' and from thence towards Circular Head . . . provisions are to be placed on the Bluff for Jorgensen if any opportunity occurs," etc. Mr. Curr writes to Mr. Adey a little later : " I cannot too strongly urge you to cause the utmost efforts to be exerted by every individual in the Company's service to complete the exploring of the country without further delay. You inform me Mr. Hellyer has been detained by floods, but do not say where.[1] This is . . . an obstacle, I am aware, but bad or wet weather or heavy rains cannot be an excuse for not proceeding."

Again we see his indomitable spirit in his efforts to win his way through to good country in a letter to Mr. Adey : " Jorgensen and his party left Hobart Town on September 2nd and under the instructions I gave him his route should terminate at Circular Head." Needless to say Jorgensen did not get through, and we will tell of his efforts presently. Later Mr. Curr heard from Mr. Hardwick that there " were 5,000 acres of good marshland very near the neck at Circular Head . . . and on the west side of the river falling into the eastern extremity of Robbins Passage another patch of good land."

His satisfaction therefore was very great when Mr. Goldie, who had been exploring in the north-west with Mr. Fossey, returned to the Mersey with the welcome intelligence that they had found near what they had (mistakenly) called Pieman's River [2] " fifty or sixty thousand acres of good land not including Circular Head."

[1] Mr. Hellyer had followed the Mersey southwards.

[2] " I conjecture that Mr. Goldie has never been near Pieman's River . . . the mouth of Pieman's River is placed by Mr. Hobbs in 41° 40′ 13″ S., and this you will see is more than 70 miles from Cape Grim instead of 45 miles, the extreme distance which I understand Mr. Goldie to have travelled southward from that point."—Curr to Adey.

After he had compared the different discoveries, Mr. Curr wrote to Mr. Adey (September 21st, 1826): "Upon the whole I am decided that Circular Head is the district on which we should commence." He continues: "Circular Head is the best portion I believe of any on the north coast, the good land there is almost contiguous to the port, a great advantage. . . . If you think as I do we may desist from exploring further." Not only did Mr. Adey agree, but he had already written to Mr. Curr making a similar suggestion; so the explorers, excepting Jorgensen, were recalled and preparations made for the removal of the Establishment from North Down on the Mersey to Circular Head.

The next instructions issued were with regard to the move. "Arriving at Circular Head, the first thing to take in hand will be preparations for unloading the *Tranmere*.[1] As the stock is taken out of her, houses for their reception will be necessary. These should be close adjoining and upon good land and near water. They must be out of reach of fire. . . . A hut must be built near them. The next thing is a store for the *Tranmere*'s cargo, this must be shingled and pretty strong and contiguous to a good landing place. Huts may be put up for the people. I will order . . . shingles and sawn timber to be got ready at Launceston, though your store and buildings must be of split timber."

Giving instructions for bringing the working cattle and horses to Circular Head, he says: "I think if you follow the coast and use the boat in ferrying them or putting them across the mouths of rivers you will succeed in getting them safely thither . . . you may place provisions for the people and corn in proper situations near the mouths of rivers." Little wonder that under his directing hand the foundations of the settlement of Highfield were soon laid, and that on the *Caroline's* coming less than a year and a half later, she found a small community established there.[2]

[1] He had ordered this vessel round from Hobart to Georgetown and thence to Circular Head.

[2] The town of Stanley stands on the site of Highfield.

CHAPTER VIII

MR. GOLDIE'S EXPLORATIONS

HAVING received their orders from Mr. Curr, on Saturday, July 29th, 1826, Mr. Goldie and Mr. Fossey left Frogmore (within Port Frederick on the north coast of Tasmania) to journey to Cape Grim, one of the wildest and most remote spots in the island. They embarked in a whale-boat with six seamen under Richard Frederick (afterwards master of the *Fanny*), who acted as steersman, and directed their course to Circular Head. It was a rough passage.

Owing to the state of the tide on the first day the boat was unable to get beyond the third Western River (the Forth) before nightfall. On Sunday morning, July 30th, having breakfasted in a small creek about a mile to the eastward of the Leven River [1] they put to sea again and met a heavy swell which, setting in from the north-west, forced them to take refuge in Parish's Boat Harbour, six miles to the eastward of Table Cape, discovered by Flinders in 1798.

On the following day, Monday, 31st, they set sail before eight a.m., with great difficulty rounding Table Cape, and while waiting for the high sea to moderate sought shelter on its western side. They set sail again on this day, but for the second time had to take refuge in the nearest harbour.[2] During the night the wind blew hard and all the next day they were detained there.

On Wednesday, August 2nd, at daybreak, once more they set sail. The sea now was smoother, although a heavy swell still came from the north-west and prevented their reaching Circular Head until two o'clock. The whale-boat had barely got under the lee of the Bluff when a fresh gale arose, which continued to blow for two days, so furiously that

[1] Many of the rivers and streams mentioned had not yet received their present names.

[2] Probably in the small boat harbour five miles westward of Table Cape.

the schooner *Nelson* then lying in the harbour dared not leave her anchorage.

Goldie and Fossey spent the next two days in examining the land around Circular Head. They found there a considerable tract of good country comprising about 4,000 acres; in some places the land was quite clear, in others it looked thinly timbered. The trees were chiefly small blue-gum, tea-tree, and a few blackwood; and the soil tending to sand rather than clay they thought that the tract would make a good sheep-run. The Bluff itself was a mass of dark-grey granite, as were some rocks around it. There was good anchorage for small ships in the harbour, but Frederick was not sure that there would be for larger vessels, for it was exposed to the east and north-east.

On Saturday, August 5th, the party left Circular Head. The weather was fine and calm, and Frederick took the whale-boat round to the mouth of a river at the entrance to Robbins Passage, which, Goldie says, "we have called Duck River."[1] The boat appearing to be heavily laden and deep in the water, Goldie and Fossey with one of the boatmen started to walk the distance, estimated at about sixteen miles. The country passed over was carefully noticed, and proved either swampy or wet, heathy land, while near the seashore a light-grey sand prevailed.

Upon arriving at the spot where he had arranged to meet Frederick, Goldie encamped. Their meeting place was about three miles from the mouth of Duck River, and next day, Sunday, August 6th, Goldie went four miles beyond their camp to view the country and to choose the best route to Cape Grim. Having fixed on a west-by-south course, he returned to his tent. On Monday, the 7th, he sent Frederick with four men to take the boat round to Cape Grim, while he, Mr. Fossey, and the two other boatmen started to walk there.

For three miles their course led them across open plains, covered with a heathy scrub and with a good deal of

[1] Frederick first entered Duck Bay, which, according to the *Admiralty Pilot*, "is 5 miles long and 2 miles wide at its broadest part, Duck River flowing into its south and Deep Creek into its east corner."

CIRCULAR HEAD SETTLEMENT, FOUNDED BY THE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY

water, and they passed through a swampy forest of stringy-bark trees, where also grew some other species of eucalyptus. Goldie advanced in this direction for several hours until, seeing no place in the forest where the men could encamp, he altered his course to west-north-west, expecting to meet with the plains. This route, however, brought them to a ridge of hills, six miles inland, from which nothing could be seen of the surrounding country, so he changed his course to north, and came out of the forest and on to the plains at nightfall. The ground everywhere was wet, consequently little fire could be kept alight ; but the night was fine and the travellers slept soundly after the fatigues of the day.

On Tuesday, August 8th, immediately after breakfast, they resumed their journey through much the same sort of country in a north-westerly direction and at midday arrived at the west coast. In following the shore northwards to Cape Grim, Goldie varied the distance intervening between them and the ocean, sometimes keeping one mile from it, at other increasing the distance to three miles ; the land he crossed over was chiefly wet, heathy plain covered with tea-tree scrub. These details were carefully noted for Mr. Curr's benefit.

On Wednesday, August 9th, continuing northward, his party entered similar country, crossed two rivers, and on Thursday, the 10th, after meeting with a river [1] which gave them "a good deal of trouble to cross"—there being no trees near at hand with which they might have built a bridge—they caught sight of the tent which had already been pitched by Frederick and his men. The site chosen for the camp was about two miles east of the most northerly point of Tasmania and not far from Cape Grim. During the whole of his journey from Circular Head to this place Goldie says : "I did not see any land at all calculated for the Company's use . . . all thick forest or low heathy swampy plains composed of hungry grey sand," and he adds : "I am not certain that sheep would eat the heath."

[1] Probably this was a tributary of the Welcome River, if not the river itself.

On Friday, August 11th, and the three following days, he made a tour through the country round Cape Grim—within a day's walk of his tent—and found that it was good land. The description that he gives of the soil is valuable, for no one had been there before him—at least, no one who surveyed the land in the way that he did. Flinders, of course, had sighted the Cape from the sea and had written of "this steep black head which from its appearance I called Cape Grim"; [1] and we hear of Robbins, Kelly, Scott, Hardwick, and Hobbs being in the locality. But no one seems to have obtained so much useful information about Cape Grim as Mr. Goldie during his three days' visit. The finding of good country of course delighted him, and he writes:

"I examined the land . . . and found it to be all good sheep land with the exception of a low plain of considerable extent which would make a good cattle run. The land has generally a tendency to sand, but at one part about seven miles down the west coast there is strong clay which I think would make bricks. I did not see freestone, but there is sandstone close by Cape Grim. The timber is chiefly bad curly gum, honeysuckle, tea-tree, and a little blackwood. It is very hilly and dry and thickly covered with kangaroo grass."

From this camp, which faced the Southern Indian Ocean on one side and Bass Strait on the other—he went by boat to examine the northernmost extreme of the north-west coast of Tasmania. (The natives called it Maandai, but it is now designated Point Woolnorth.) "Two miles from the main," he continues, "there is a small island called Trefoil Island which is very beautiful, with little timber and apparently covered with grass. Made an attempt to get to it, but could not—the weather was too stormy." Flinders, we know, had christened this beautiful island on December 9th, 1798, during the *Norfolk*'s voyage, and had given it the name of Trefoil Island, "its form appearing to be nearly that of a clover leaf." It is covered with grass, bare of trees, and a bank of sand joins it with the mainland.

[1] *Terra Australis* "Cape Grim is 269 feet high. Steeple rock, a fallen fragment of the rocks above, lies southward of it and is 140 feet high."—*Admiralty Sailing Directions.*

A PORTION OF ARROWSMITH'S MAP (1842) SHOWING THE LAND GRANTED TO THE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY AT WOOLNORTH, ROBBINS ISLAND, AND CIRCULAR HEAD

Having seen all the land in this quarter Mr. Goldie returned to the camp, and on Tuesday, the 15th, again took the boat and surveyed the river which had proved so difficult to cross on the road to Cape Grim. He left the boat at the ford, intending to use it next day when journeying to a remarkable hill farther to the southward, called Mount Cameron on Mr. Hardwick's map, a copy of which he had brought with him.

On this day—August 16th—he quitted the camp in search of Mount Cameron. His party included Fossey, Frederick, and one of the boatmen. They crossed the river (where they left their boat) and discovered a large extent of good land suitable for sheep. Before they arrived at Mount Cameron, to Mr. Goldie's disappointment the pasture narrowed down into a slip not exceeding a mile in width, and, in the immediate neighbourhood of the hill, became merely heath and swamp. Mount Cameron itself was found to be clothed with excellent grass, the good land amounting to 800 or 1,000 acres.

A fine view was obtained from the top of the mountain, which seemed to be surrounded on all sides by plains bounded by low, swampy forests of amazing extent both east and west.

On Thursday, August 17th, the party left Mount Cameron in a heavy fall of rain and made their way back to their camp at Point Woolnorth. Travelling north-eastward, at about twelve miles below the ford—where they had left their boat —they met with the difficult river. The surrounding country was nothing but grey sand—" hungry grey sand," Mr. Goldie calls it—and a steady rain was falling, so they decided to return to the tent " by the shortest road," which, of course, meant by crossing the river in front of them. Fossey first plunged in and was immediately carried off his feet by the current ;—being a strong swimmer, he " luckily got safely over." After watching him battling with the current the rest of the party sought for a safer place lower down where they could cross the stream, and, some trees being felled, a bridge was made by which they all got over. On reaching the opposite bank there were no signs of Fossey, nor did he appear until next morning, having completely lost his way upon " these extensive plains."

Goldie next planned an expedition yet farther southward to Pieman's River. Mr. Curr had long been interested in this river and had wished for some knowledge of the land on its banks. Therefore it was arranged that Mr. Fossey, Frederick, and two boatmen should accompany their leader in this journey, and that two other boatmen should help carry their provisions for the first two or three days, after which they should return to Cape Grim and rejoin their comrades, who had charge of the whale-boat. These men had orders on their arrival to take it round to Circular Head and wait there for the explorers.

The weather proving unfavourable, Mr. Goldie's party did not set out on their travels until Sunday, August 20th. On the first evening they reached Mount Cameron. Rain had fallen all day, and the heavy downpour following the previous rain turned the plains into a quagmire and made the route difficult.

On Monday, August 21st, having passed a honeysuckle bank that skirted West Point—the point itself being covered with kangaroo grass—they came to a pretty range of hills where grew fern and indigo. Level strips of plain with good herbage ran along the west coast for some distance, and on the following day—Tuesday, August 22nd—rising ground was sighted. At first it was supposed to be the good land marked "South Downs" on Mr. Hardwick's map, but it proved poor country, resembling that previously traversed—with the same "hungry grey sand" mixed with the soil—and therefore it could not have been the "South Downs" of Hardwick.

On this day, while making their way southward, the explorers halted on the banks of a river that answered to the description given to Mr. Goldie of Pieman's River, and he was under the impression it was that river. Goldie thus describes it: "It is as wide as the Mersey at the mouth, apparently much deeper and a bar river. There was a heavy sea breaking over it. We attempted to cross it but found it impossible. . . . On the opposite side of the river I could see the good land become much wider and perceived that Mount

Norfolk[1] was covered with heath and clear of wood; our distance from it might be fourteen or sixteen miles." (Mr. Curr has told us that this was not Pieman's River.)

The north bank was explored for some distance, and then seeing that there was no chance of any of their party "ever being able to get across this river," they left it and struck inland on a south-by-east course, traversing wet, heathy plains until nearly dark. The tent was pitched on the edge of a forest, where some of the men built a hut.

On Wednesday, August 23rd, the two boatmen who had helped to carry their provisions went back to Cape Grim, and Mr. Goldie's party pressed onward to the south-east towards a heathy ridge, from the top of which they caught a view of plains extending for a considerable distance north-east and south-west and, like the other plains previously seen, bounded by low forests.

On leaving the ridge they directed their course towards what in the distance looked like another high ridge, but it proved to be merely a row of tall trees grouped along the side of a tea-tree scrub. Part of their route led through a forest strewn with fallen timber, where the ground itself was wet and soft and every one sank knee-deep in the mud. Notwithstanding the obstacles in their path and the heavy rain falling, they pushed on steadily until four o'clock, when Frederick climbed a tree and reported that there were plains close at hand.

This intelligence raised the spirits of the men, who were growing disheartened at the persistence both of the rain and scrub, and they renewed their exertions to gain the plains sighted by Frederick. The clear country he had seen, proved a myth. The plains were covered with water and overgrown by another dense tea-tree scrub, ten feet high, and almost impenetrable. An opening was cut through it, although the work was exhausting, and at last the travellers were cheered at the sight of a little patch of ground, higher than the rest, where after clearing it they were able to encamp. At night to their great relief, the drenching rain ceased and the weather became bright and frosty.

[1] So named by Flinders in 1798 after his ship.

The following morning, August 24th, on rising to make his observations, Mr. Goldie saw that a low and swampy country surrounded them on all sides; and, realizing that it was quite impossible to proceed, he decided to turn back to Circular Head. It took his party four hours to retrace their steps through the forest, although they could not have been more than four miles from the plain. The night was spent at the hut that the men had built on the 22nd, and on Friday, August 25th, the explorers reached Mount Cameron, whence they followed "the nearest way" to Circular Head, arriving there on August 29th—no suitable land for the Company being seen during the walk. The boat was not in the port, nor did it get into the harbour until September 2nd, a storm having prevented it putting to sea.

On this second visit to Circular Head, Mr. Goldie again examined the surrounding country, which he was able to compare with Cape Grim. He found that at Cape Grim there was a larger extent of good land and a better supply of water. But the only anchorage at Hunter Island, four miles away, was not nearly as good as that at Circular Head, and in this respect at least he thought Circular Head preferable to Cape Grim.

DETENTION RIVER

On Monday, September 4th, Mr. Goldie and Mr. Fossey, with Frederick and two boatmen, left Circular Head for Rocky Cape, to enable Goldie to reach and ascend a hill twelve miles inland and to make observations from its summit. Stormy weather prevented them taking their departure from Rocky Cape until Friday, September 8th. They then struck out on a west-by-south course and discovered a river [1] that ran into Bass Strait (four miles to the westward of the Cape). After tracing this stream for four miles they crossed it on a tree-trunk and entered a dense forest through which they could advance only about one mile an hour. Towards evening, the weather being again stormy, their tent was pitched on the banks of a small river, a tributary of the larger river, which appeared to encircle the base of the hill which Mr. Goldie wished

[1] Afterwards named Detention River.

to ascend. Here innumerable troubles were encountered. First of all, the ground was too damp to allow the men to rest upon it, and for some time they could not light a fire. When they had succeeded in coaxing it into a blaze and had eaten their supper, a deluge of rain fell, causing the river to overflow and extinguish their fire.

The water rising very fast, they left the tent and sought hilly ground about thirty yards off, which they reached safely, although the swirling water nearly swept them off their feet. Here they spent the night by the side of a stringy-bark tree, each man with his blanket drawn over his head, while the rain poured down upon them pitilessly and the river below rose so rapidly that they lived "in dread of being swept away by its flood."

As soon as it was light the wearied men got upon their feet, but could hardly move their limbs from the effects of their long exposure. The smaller river, which on the previous evening had been only eight or ten yards wide, now spread its water over more than 200 yards of ground, and the small eminence on which they had taken refuge was fast becoming an island. It was determined, therefore, to face the flood and find their way back to the forest which they had traversed the day before; and, plunging into the water up to their armpits, it took all their strength to stem the current. The main stream proved to be altogether impassable, so they again sought refuge on the top of the highest hill, where they stayed until the water subsided and they were able to return to Rocky Cape.

In the interval some of the party erected a bark hut and tried to make the camp comfortable; but their remaining flour and sugar—all that was left of their provisions—had been spoiled through the rain penetrating their knapsacks, and there was little else to eat. Happy, however, that under the circumstances they had escaped with their lives, they waited at this spot until Sunday, September 10th, when the water fell considerably and allowed them to ford the river, which was called Detention River—the name it still bears. At Rocky Cape they were again detained by storms until the 14th. On this day the boat put to sea, reaching the Mersey in time for breakfast, and here Mr. Goldie found Mr. Adey.

CHAPTER IX

JORGENSEN'S FIRST JOURNEY

When, because of the decision of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Curr was forced to turn his eyes to the wild north-west corner of Tasmania, he remembered that a large tract of country between the inland lakes and Circular Head lay virtually unexplored. Aware that Jorgen Jorgensen [1] was an experienced seaman who knew how to take bearings, he decided that the Dane should penetrate the unknown territory and ascertain if any part of it would be suitable for the needs of the Van Diemen's Land Company. Apparently Mr. Curr entertained a high opinion of Jorgensen's powers as an explorer; for, of all the tasks that he set at this time, Jorgensen's seems to have been the most difficult.

Mr. Goldie and Mr. Fossey had not returned from their travels in the north-west when Jorgensen started on his journey. On September 2nd, 1826, he left Hobart with a party [2] to penetrate beyond the lakes, and, as already stated, he had

[1] "Jorgen Jorgensen," says Hooker, "was a Dane who, although born of respectable parents (at Copenhagen in 1770), entered the British service as an apprentice on board a collier at an early age." He afterwards served in the Royal Navy, and went to New South Wales. Being appointed second mate on board H.M.S. *Lady Nelson*, where he was known by his English name of John Johnson, he attended the first settlers to Risdon in 1803. Later, he returned to Denmark and next appeared as commander of a privateer in the service of his country and took part in the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807; but, being captured after a smart resistance off Flamborough Head by Captain Langford, he was brought to Yarmouth as a prisoner of war. While out on his parole in 1809 he carried provisions to the starving people in Iceland; on a second voyage thither, Count Trampe having prohibited the intercourse, Jorgensen landed and took the Governor prisoner. He then assumed the reins of government and drafted a new code of laws for the Icelanders. On his return to London he was arrested as an alien at large and sent to prison. He afterwards committed several offences, for one of which he was sentenced to transportation. In 1826 he reached Hobart and remained in Van Diemen's Land until his death, which took place about 1840.

[2] In the History of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the Van Diemen's Land Company, from which most of the facts in this chapter have been derived, neither names nor the number of men who went with Jorgensen's party are given.

received orders to find a road to Circular Head. Each man carried his own knapsack, and was well provided with provisions and ammunition, several dogs also being taken with the expedition.

FLOODED RIVERS

Having passed through the settled districts the party gradually made their way northward into the open country. Unfortunately, while calling for refreshment at Ransom's Inn, one of their dogs was accidentally scalded and, rushing out of the house, was never seen by them again. At the settlers' huts on their way to the Clyde they met with much kindness and at length arrived at Dr. Ross's farm on the Shannon, which they hoped to cross there. The river being in flood [1] they were unable to ford it, but continued their journey towards Mr. Miles Patterson's homestead, where they were hospitably received and given a well-trained dog to replace the one they had lost.

Here, too, the Shannon was in flood, the river being described as "a complete sea," and, after a fruitless wait of several days for the water to subside, Jorgensen resolved to cross it at St. Patrick's Plains. Their route now led over rocky ground and across deep creeks, and late one evening they arrived at Mr. Jones's stock-hut, seventy-two miles from Hobart. At this place the weather became extremely cold, the ground at night being covered with deep snow which disappeared only during the day when the rays of the sun were strong enough to melt it. In these lonely parts the country-side lived in a state of terror, because Dunne, a notorious bushranger, had recently made his appearance in the neighbourhood.

On resuming their journey, Jorgensen nearly lost his life while attempting to cross the Shannon. A man from the Clyde had told him of a shallow place in the river, and with his heavy knapsack on his back he stepped into the stream, which, far from being shallow, grew deeper and deeper, carrying him quickly out of his depth. He saved himself only with great

[1] Evidently this was a very wet season.

difficulty after cutting his hands and feet among the rocks. For the next nine days he and his companions searched up and down the stream looking for a ford, and eventually found a spot where by the aid of a rope tied to a tree-stump they were able to get across. When all were safely over they made straight for Mr. Lord's old stock-yard, three miles higher up the river.

On taking their departure from the old stock-yard they struck out in a north-westerly direction and passed round the south-west end of the Great Lake, thus leaving the Shannon at a considerable distance on their right. They crossed several large marshes, traversed much rocky ground, and saw many kangaroos, and after walking for fourteen miles ascended some rocky hills, obtaining a good view of the Great Lake—a fine sheet of water about twenty miles long and twelve miles wide. On the night of September 21st they encamped near the lake, and next day set out to the west-north-west. From a hill that lay in their route an extensive stretch of clear land was sighted ; they were hastening towards it when they suddenly came upon a river, more rapid, much deeper and broader than the Shannon. At first they imagined that it was the upper part of the Derwent, but it proved to be the Ouse, commonly known as the "Big River."

Here they saw native huts and the tracks of wild cattle. The grass on the river banks was wiry, but the black soil was "inferior to none." From a high summit Jorgensen obtained a wide view of plains and of lofty mountains to the westward. In this direction rivers, lakes, and lagoons were interspersed over the inland country, which was finally shut in by mountain ranges covered with snow, which, he says, "presented a sublime scene." Jorgensen called these plains the Arthur Plains in honour of the Lieutenant-Governor.

He also gave the name of Table Hill to a remarkable hill upon the plains, which Mr. Curr informed him later had previously been designated Platform Bluff. The party next travelled north-north-west and tried to cross the Ouse, but were stopped by an enormous rock ; a similar rock stood on the other side of the river, and between these two great bluffs

the stream rushed in a fierce torrent. Some native huts were seen close by and here again there were tracks of wild cattle. Jorgensen now decided to encamp as the weather was very cold and they could not cross the river, nor did there seem any prospect of advancing farther northward. While they were deliberating as to the route that they should take, several kangaroos went jumping past their hut, to which the dogs gave chase. Some of the men followed them into the woods, and suddenly came upon open country. Grassy plains could be seen winding round the bluff rock that had stopped their progress, and stretching northerly for a great distance.

Jorgensen resolved to cross these plains. The course of the river wound through them, and the fording of it seemed to constitute the chief obstacle in their path. They therefore made an attempt to cross the stream at a place where a number of rocks appeared above the water, and reached one rock, but in trying to approach a second the whole party with their dogs were nearly drowned. The spot where they made this attempt was found to be exactly 110 miles from Hobart.

THE FRENCHMAN'S CAP AND MOUNT DUNDAS

All their other efforts to cross the river were equally unsuccessful, and, the weather being wet, stormy, and cold, the little band of explorers contented themselves with making observations that might be found useful on a later journey. They ascended a lofty summit, from which they had a clear view of their surroundings. The Frenchman's Cap [1] (near Macquarie Harbour) lay S.W. by W. distant thirty-five miles; Mount Dundas, W., thirty-six miles; the Parson's Hood, W. ½ N. thirty-four miles; and other mountains from W. by N. to N.W., until the range terminated in a mountain near by which bore northwards at a distance of about seven miles. Jorgensen states that the early explorers of Tasmania

[1] The Frenchman's Cap, 4,756 feet high, is thirty miles eastward of Cape Sorell. In clear weather it serves as a landmark for seamen. An old writer has stated that it was named by Vancouver, who descried it from the sea when passing round Tasmania, on his way to New Zealand in 1791. The author, however, can find no mention of his having done so in the journal of his voyage.

had great difficulty in identifying mountains in the north and north-western part of the island, and that the range, visible from Salt Pan Plains that ran eastward of the lakes, occasioned the confusion. This range had been placed in various situations upon the old maps. In Scott's map it was shown running roughly S.W. and N.E., forming almost a semicircle, which began to the south of Pieman's River and ran towards the north of the island. It is particularly recognizable on Scott's map from its contiguity to the mountain marked "Peak like a Volcano." To distinguish this range from the true western mountains (i.e. the West Coast Range which stretches north and south and terminates in high black precipices on the west coast) Jorgensen named it Dundas Range, for the most conspicuous peak, Mount Dundas at its west end, could not easily be mistaken. To the southward of Mount Dundas, Jorgensen observed an opening or pass which, however, he was unable to examine.

Before he left this neighbourhood he determined to leave some record of his journey in a conspicuous place, in case Mr. Hellyer should come that way. The latter had been given choice of two routes by Mr. Curr, one of which Jorgensen's party believed they had examined. A letter, therefore, was placed in a tin canister and fixed on the top of a pole, which was set in a prominent position, to inform Mr. Hellyer of the extent of Jorgensen's explorations. The men had frequently crossed the track that Mr. Curr had mapped out for Mr. Hellyer; and it was thought that if the latter should descend to the plain he could not fail to see the pole and the tin canister.

The party then retraced their steps and, passing round the Great Lake again, came to St. Patrick's Plains. On their way across the long marshes between the lake and the plains they came suddenly upon a singularly constructed hut which had escaped their notice when they had passed it on their outward journey. From a short distance away the hut looked exactly like a fallen tree. "It was contrived with much cunning and was sufficiently large to contain with ease sixteen or seventeen persons; it had two doors—one in the middle and one at the end—the last was not unlike a sentry-box,

where a person might seat himself and look over the marsh for miles and no one could approach there without being seen at a long distance by the inmates." The hut belonged to the bushranger Brady and his mates. Here they sought refuge when fleeing from justice, and it was one of the places to which was given the name of " Brady's Lookout."

On entering the grim abode the men saw strips of cloth and many other articles which showed that the hut had been inhabited. Leaving the hut on the marsh behind them, the travellers continued their journey and soon came to a forest where they noted many trees of stringy-bark eighty and ninety feet high. The ford at St. Patrick's Plains was impassable, the river being again in flood, and consequently they were compelled to encamp and to spend a cold night through being unable at first to light their fire. Next morning they proceeded along the western bank of the river to Dr. Ross's farm, where they were hospitably received, in spite of the fact that Dunne the bushranger, only eighteen hours before, had robbed the house of practically all the sugar and flour it contained.

Here Jorgensen remained with his men while Logan, one of the party, took his map and journal to Mr. Curr. With these was sent a request for a pack-horse and fresh supplies. While waiting for Logan's return the men divided their time in repairing their equipment and in gaining fresh information preparatory to making a second attempt to reach Circular Head. Jorgensen himself explored the country, armed with an old-fashioned sword given to him by Dr. Ross.

Mr. Curr received Jorgensen's map and journal at Hobart and replied to him thus (on October 2nd, 1826) : " I have received your map, journal and letter safely by Logan. I feel satisfied you have made as much progress as the state of the rivers . . . would permit. I have not a pack-horse which . . . I can spare and feel convinced that before you reach Circular Head you will have cause to congratulate yourself that you have no horse with you. I return your map and on inspecting it you will find that I have been endeavouring to lay down the mountains you have seen according to the drawings in your journal. The river which had stopped you

is not the Derwent but the 'Big River,' the country on its banks which you speak of has been visited by a Mr. Russell, who is with Captain Wood at the Clyde, and Captain Wood told me of the course of the 'Big River' a few days since.

"This country, Arthur's Plains, would be very valuable if it were warmer. It is certainly too cold for fine-woolled sheep . . . you must be careful not to make Pieman's River on the south side. . . . I expect you will find the north-west angle of the island much warmer . . . The information you have given me is very useful in showing that stock may be driven from this part of the island so far on the road to Pieman's River. Be good enough to inform me before you leave Doctor Ross's whether I have placed the supposed opening in the mountains [1] in the right situation? A barrel of provisions will be placed for you at Circular Head on the Bluff, and I have every reason to believe a party [setting out by boat] will be there before you. Indeed, I expect to be there myself within three weeks from this time."

The supplies Jorgensen had asked for were sent to Dr. Ross's farm, but Logan had scarcely taken his departure when Mr. Curr seems to have realized the magnitude of the task he had set the Dane; for only three days later (on October 5th) he writes to Mr. Adey: "If you have not sent the provisions to Circular Head for Jorgensen's party you need not do so at present." And it is evident that, after considering the difficulties of the route, he did not expect Jorgensen would be able to reach Circular Head for some time to come. He continues his letter: "He has been up beyond the Great Lake where at the back of the Black Bluff and the Extreme Western Bluff he has found a considerable expanse of good country, but cold, and from there, being stopped by a river (the Ouse) which he could not then cross, he returned to the Shannon. He has been provisioned afresh and there is every reason to believe he will, if he succeeds in crossing the river, arrive at the Pieman's River from which he will be able to reach Circular Head."

[1] To the South of Mount Dundas.

CHAPTER X

JORGENSEN'S SECOND JOURNEY

THE "Peak like a Volcano" and Pieman's River appear to have been two outstanding features in Mr. Curr's combined plan of exploration. He had written to Mr. Adey at the Mersey in August: "When I come round I do trust that the district westward of Port Sorell as far as the Peak like a Volcano will have been thoroughly examined"; and we now find him urging Jorgensen to try and reach Circular Head by way of Pieman's River on foot.

It will be remembered that the peak which rises in such grandeur above the natural surroundings when seen from the N.W. coast is a "pointed cone," although from the position in which it was first seen by Flinders it looks flat-topped. Captain Stokes [1] thus describes it: "twenty miles S.S.W. from Round Hill Point, this peak is a bare mass of granite 4,100 feet high, and, as it glistens in the first beams of the morning sun like an immense spire, it becomes the most remarkable hill feature on the north coast of Tasmania." And, from the time that Flinders had placed "Peak like a Volcano" on his map until one of the officers of the Van Diemen's Land Company gave it another name, it was known to all by this distinguishing title.

Pieman's River, by which Mr. Curr was anxious that Jorgensen should pass to Circular Head, enters the sea on the west coast below Sandy Cape. It will be remembered that Flinders and Bass, after rounding Cape Grim, had sailed past it on December 11th, 1798. Mr. Curr therefore had set Jorgensen no light task, for it meant that, in order to avoid the lofty tableland, surrounded by a formidable mountain barrier rising to a height of 4,000 feet, which barred the direct road to Circular Head from the south-eastward, Jorgensen, after leaving the lakes, would have to traverse a westwardly route and make his way round the end of the mountain range

[1] Captain Lort Stokes: *Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle.*

through the opening south of Mount Dundas, whence he next would have to cross Pieman's River, then follow the west coast northerly and finally find his way to Circular Head from the westward. This briefly is an outline of the route that Jorgensen was ordered to take upon his second journey, and we will now endeavour to relate how the expedition fared.

JORGENSEN REACHES THE PEAK

On Logan's return from Hobart with provisions and fresh instructions from Mr. Curr, Jorgensen's party set out once more for the "Big River." After leaving Dr. Ross's hospitable farm-house they tried to cross the Shannon, which, as usual, was swollen by flood. A ford used by Mr. Lord's carters proving impassable, on October 11th the party were forced to seek their old crossing place and to travel thence by their former route round the Great Lake.

Three days later they reached the "Big River" a little beyond the spot where the two enormous rocks guarded either bank. The heavy rains had swollen this river as well and its stream was extraordinarily high, so that the travellers were compelled to trace its course northward in search of a safe crossing. Their path was interrupted by a smaller river which emptied itself into the "Big River." This they waded through, and, continuing along the banks for about six miles, noticed that the "Big River" at one place had a clear gravelly bottom where the water was only four and a half feet deep. Here the men got over safely, and on reaching the opposite bank climbed some lofty hills from which they viewed the windings of the river in a northerly direction. The country that they had explored this far was level enough for a cart to travel over it from Hobart.

The party took up their abode for the night under some rocks, which sheltered them from the cold, at a spot found to be exactly 123 miles from Hobart; and Jorgensen states that had they proceeded along the river banks to the mountains confronting them they would have seen the Hampshire and Surrey Hills afterwards discovered by Mr. Hellyer. Late one

afternoon Jorgensen ascended a high hill, where he found the compass continued in a state of vibration which indicated that there was much iron ore thereabouts.

From here he had a perfect view of the Dundas Range and of Mount Dundas, which left no doubt in his mind that there was an opening immediately south of the mountain leading to the west coast. The plains beneath him gave the impression of one immense sheet of water almost entire, although the rivers, lakes, and lagoons themselves were quite distinguishable. All hopes of being able to reach the west coast through the passage or opening south of Mount Dundas were extinguished, however, by insurmountable difficulties, chief of which was the flooded country. Next day the men again journeyed to the north-westward. For on finding no other route open to him Jorgensen had determined to scale the mountain barrier that barred his way to Circular Head !

A march of four miles brought his party to another river which obstructed their progress. No crossing place could be found, and after following its banks for some distance they arrived at a lake of considerable extent. For a time they retraced their steps until at last noticing a place above a waterfall, where the river looked less deep, here they crossed it although its stream was very rapid. The dogs were terrified and refused to budge, and a line had to be fastened to them to draw them to the opposite bank. One got under the waterfall and the other two were nearly drowned.

The road now became very rugged indeed ; no cart could possibly have travelled over it ; the ground was covered with snow and the cold intense. Continuing their way west-north-westward all heedless of the severity of the weather, Jorgensen and his men faced their difficulties bravely. They had sometimes to walk through snow five feet deep ; they had to wade through several rivers, and they noticed that the kangaroos, which provided the best part of their meat, daily became more and more scarce. Still they pressed forward in short journeys and shaped their course to an isolated peaked mountain, between which and one of the mountains of the Dundas Range there was an immense chasm very wide and so deep

that it was impossible to see the bottom. A heavy mist surrounded it. Snow was falling in masses and the mountains themselves presented a scene "resembling Norway or Iceland" (the latter country being well known to Jorgensen). Not an animal was seen, and even the crows seemed to have deserted this frightful region.

To cross the immense chasm appeared impossible. Rocky precipices jutted out angrily around it, and the width of the gully in which it was situated could not have been less than ten or twelve miles. Yet still the men pressed onward, seeing no trees or anything that would kindle a fire, and nothing with which they could construct a hut, until their course was stayed suddenly by a small river whose stream issued from a beautiful lake situated between the mountains.

Having at last got across the small river, they looked forward more hopefully to finding better country on the other side of it; the land, however, instead of improving, became of an impassable character, so they took up their quarters for the night at a spot near the lake. The lake was singularly beautiful and was situated several thousand feet above the level of the sea, while the isolated mountain which Jorgensen terms "peaky"—and to reach which the travellers had made this trying journey—was covered with snow from its point down to its foot—level with the lake. Jorgensen, indeed, had arrived at the mountain that Flinders and Bass had seen from the sea and named "Peak like a Volcano."[1] He had reached what is known as the "Roof of Tasmania."

Following the same direction as before, next morning his party again advanced and had completed two or three miles when they met with a large river which also took its source from the lake. The stream, after winding round the base of a mountain, rushed down upon the plains below and put an effectual stop to their journey. It was impossible to get across a stream so wide and deep, and Jorgensen believed that it was the source of the Derwent.[2] He afterwards learned that by

[1] The Dane's feat seems to have been seldom told and is now almost forgotten.

[2] The Derwent rises in Lake St. Clair, further to the southward. This was probably the Hellyer River.

turning back at this point they had had a providential escape from many unforeseen dangers. They now ascended the mountains they had just crossed and halted beneath some rocks where they could find no level space to rest upon and where there was little or no firewood. The night was bitterly cold and the earth covered with snow. On the following day they continued to retrace their steps and at evening encamped on a mountain where the frost was so severe that, although they got some logs to burn in the middle, the ice and snow at either end of them did not melt.

Their provisions were now nearly exhausted; they were still several days' journey from the Shannon, and a black man of their party was seized with lethargy caused by the intense cold. Therefore, on October 24th, they decided to descend at a rapid pace to lower country, keeping the large plains in view on their left and the fine river on their right. (Jorgensen states that he lost the account of this part of the tour, and has left few details of it.)

The party hurried back in a south-easterly direction down to the plains, and after ten miles came upon broad cattle pastures. Great numbers of kangaroos were seen and presently they entered warmer regions sheltered by hills [1] and by a large forest. After travelling twenty miles they constructed a hut for the night, and enjoyed a hearty meal of kangaroo with their small allowance of biscuit.

On the morning of October 25th, resuming their south-easterly course, they fell in with fine country abounding both with brush and forest kangaroos and with cattle whose tracks were seen everywhere. The good feed, the strength, size, and beauty of the trees and the luxuriant vegetation bore witness to the richness of the soil. One kangaroo caught here was estimated to weigh at least 150 pounds. Numbers of native huts were seen, some having been recently inhabited, giving proofs that the Tasmanians resorted to this part of the island, which is "warm and well sheltered from the winds."

On the 26th at noon the travellers arrived "at a magnificent sheet of water of very great extent," which it was

[1] Part of the Surrey Hills.

conjectured "when the size of its coves are considered would probably equal the Great Lake."[1] Between this lake and their encamping place of the previous night Jorgensen states that the Van Diemen's Land Company afterwards "obtained a reserve of 10,000 acres of land."

After leaving the lake Jorgensen's party obtained a distant view of the Table Mountain on the Clyde, and, proceeding by way of Shannon Point and New Norfolk, arrived in Hobart on the 1st of November, having travelled in the course of seven days a distance of 164 miles (according to Jorgensen) from the Peaky Mountain to their destination.

Mr. Curr at once sent the welcome news of their return to Mr. Adey, and writes to him from Hobart on November 3rd, 1826: "Mr. Jorgensen has returned after penetrating to the mountain marked on Scott's Map 'Peak like a Volcano' where he was stopped by a considerable river flowing from N.N.W. to S.S.E. which he takes to be the Derwent . . . our next attempt—I am of the opinion—should be to penetrate from Pieman's River to the lakes, and I propose sending Mr. Jorgensen to Circular Head to be employed in this."

[1] This lake was mistakenly called Lake Fergus which is comparatively small. Tasmanian historians state that it was Lake Echo.

CHAPTER XI

JORGENSEN AND LORIMER

JORGENSEN'S third expedition was of more importance than either of his previous journeys. On January 14th, 1827, he left Hobart for Georgetown and embarked in the *Tranmere*, which was employed in taking stock on board for Circular Head. Mr. Curr had ordered him to sail in the brig as far as that place, where a few picked men would join him, and then to make his way down the west coast towards Pieman's River. Just when the *Tranmere* was on the point of leaving Georgetown she grounded, and the stock had to be put ashore for the time being, delaying the vessel's departure for three days.

On his arrival at Circular Head, Jorgensen found that Mr. Lorimer, an assistant surveyor of the Van Diemen's Land Company, had received orders to accompany him.[1] The members of the expedition (with which went three dogs called Fannie, Spring, and Boxer) took a final farewell of Circular Head on March 1st, 1827, and, embarking in the whale-boat,[2] landed on the same day at an inlet in Robbins Passage between Circular Head and Cape Grim. The whale-boat then continued her voyage to Hunter Island to pick up a load of provisions (left there by the schooner *Nelson*) which the master of the whale-boat had been instructed to convey to an appointed rendezvous at West Point. He had orders to assist the expedition afterwards, on its journey down the coast.

The party, under the leadership of Jorgensen and Lorimer, started their land journey on March 2nd. Leaving the banks of the inlet—within Robbins Passage—where they had disembarked, they cut off the Cape Grim corner and proceeded direct to Mount Cameron, the "conspicuous" mountain to

[1] Whether Jorgensen or Lorimer had been appointed leader we are not told.

[2] Jorgensen does not give the names of his party. The crew of the whale-boat consisted of six men. At different times mention is made in the journal of James Dunn, Jacob, Thomas Jones and George Venables.

the south of the cape which Mr. Goldie had ascended in August, 1826. They passed over much indifferent land in their route, saw no trees fit for building purposes, and met with few kangaroos.

In the evening they encamped on the north side of Mount Cameron, near a small river whose stream appeared to be "quite motionless." At the end of the day the leaders of the expedition evidently disagreed as to the distance covered, for Jorgensen writes: "Mount Cameron is not above 10 or 11 miles from that part of Robbins Passage we had set out from although Mr. Lorimer would have it that we had travelled upwards of 20 miles."

On the following morning, the 3rd of March, while edging round to the east side of Mount Cameron they came to a lagoon which had previously been seen by Mr. Goldie. They arrived about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when its waters were swarming with wild duck. A little later, above West Point, patches of fine land were noticed. Water soon became very scarce, and Jorgensen feared that none would be found. Happily, he espied a tea-tree bush [1] which he says "was a sure sign of its existence," and some was obtained there. On this evening they encamped close to the beach. The weather was fine and clear; wind from the north-east. West Point, S.W. 7 miles.

WEST COAST RIVERS

On the morning of March 4th the explorers made their way by the seashore. On one side of them low barren hills hid the farthermost country from view. On the other the ocean stretched into the distance. A heavy swell from the south-west caused a prodigious surf to beat all along the coast, and a white line of foam marked the borders of land and sea. Several rivulets running down to the beach were crossed, and some of these appeared to spring up in the sand, where the footprints of natives were frequently noticed. Farther inland, in sheltered places, here and there, were native huts. At three o'clock in the afternoon the travellers reached a small

[1] A species of *Melaleuca*.

boat harbour at West Point, and found in port the whale-boat which had arrived safely on the 3rd of March with the provisions from Hunter Island.

At this tiny haven, " almost inaccessible to vessels even of the smallest description," the night was spent, and next morning, the 5th, they proceeded to another boat harbour ten miles south of West Point, the whale-boat running alongshore while the others again walked over the sands, and the boat reached the harbour first. Little good land fit for sheep was seen ! The only pasturage " consisted of green hills which were very bare," although fresh water was abundant. The second boat harbour was named " Church Cove [1] from the appearance of a rock " which Jorgensen says " bears a striking resemblance to one of the ancient village churches." About two miles to the southward of this harbour a fine river [2] was met with, and designated Church River, but the boat could not enter it, for it had a bar-mouth over which dashed a high surf.

Some years before, when Mr. Hobbs had sailed round this part of the island, he adopted the safe plan of sending his people on shore to look for a harbour ; and if one was found they were told to kindle a fire, which " denoted to Mr. Hobbs a place of safety and he would proceed thither in his boats." Jorgensen says that his boat party followed the same plan.

Up to this the weather had been fine and the wind, for the most part, easterly. It now changed, and at four p.m. a severe gale with a heavy sea made it impossible to quit Church Cove. The two following days were therefore spent in surveying the surrounding country. It was ascertained that Mount Norfolk bore S. by $\frac{1}{2}$ E. sixteen miles distant from the camp, and Church River for many miles was wide and deep. " This is certainly the river that stayed Mr. Goldie's progress," says Jorgensen, and he adds : " we could not cross the river, which may be computed at 35 miles distant from Cape Grim." [3]

[1] Underlined in the original journal.

[2] The Arthur River : it is about four miles south of Church Rock. Jorgensen writes : " This river obtained the name of Church River, though Mr. Lorimer marks it Jorgensen's River, from my getting a hearty ducking in it—but this is a foolish appellation as I formed one of the party."

[3] In following the coast the whole way it is about twenty-seven miles from Cape Grim, but the inland journey may have been longer. Mr. Curr states

The soil hereabouts yielded little food for stock, and what there was grew near the seashore; farther inland the land looked nothing but sand and heath. Mount Norfolk appeared as a solitary mountain rising like a peak with a gradual descent. To the southward, inclining a little westward, stood a ridge of mountains, the middle one elevated in a sharp point, while the most westerly was a sort of bluff.

On taking their departure from Church Cove, Jorgensen and Lorimer sent parties both by land and sea to look for suitable anchorages along the west coast. Since the *Norfolk*'s departure this coast had seldom been surveyed, and some of its harbours were now entered for the first time.

On March the 8th Jorgensen writes: "Rowed out at daylight and found shelter in a boat harbour about 8 miles to the southward of our last station."[1] He continues: "Immediately after taking some refreshment, Mr. Lorimer, Jacob and George Venables proceeded along the sea coast in search of another boat harbour."[2] Jorgensen himself stayed behind to investigate farther afield. He found the soil poor, although plenty of honeysuckle grew there, which the officers at Circular Head had led him to believe was a sure indication of good land; he however thought it was the reverse—at least in this western district. He passed a number of rivers and creeks that fell into the sea and observed traces of natives, but kangaroos were scarce.

that this was *not* Pieman's River: "The river which he [Goldie] has mistaken for it is the one of which Mr. Hobbs places the mouth in 41° 3′ S. and describes as 'near West Point and similar to Pieman's River with a bar mouth and an entrance equally dangerous: carried the boat along the beach into the river and then went up 15 miles to the falls. The water like Pieman's River is deep and salt up to the falls: at this dry season the river runs from the low country around Mount Norfolk. The timber trees consist of very fine stringy-bark, gums and a few blackwood trees: the soil is barren and little fit for any purpose, with the exception of a few patches nearly a mile inland of light sandy soil covered with grass.' This is an interesting description of Arthur River by Mr. Hobbs, who was most probably the first to explore it." Two miles beyond his turning point inland the Arthur is joined by the Hellyer or Don River.

[1] This boat harbour, according to *Admiralty Sailing Directions*, is called Southern Boat Harbour. Jorgensen seems to have underestimated this distance. The harbour is about seven miles south of Arthur River and between ten or eleven from Church Cove.

[2] The harbour they met with appears to have been named Venables' Boat Harbour. Sandy Cape, slightly to the southward, was now rounded.

On the following day, March 9th, the whale-boat continued to run along the coast and entered a boat harbour,[1] " about 6 miles distant from the last encampment " ; the rest of the party followed by the sea-shore, which had become very rugged. Jorgensen describes it as " a savage looking coast." The ridge of mountains seen on the 7th assumed a different appearance, " resembling those near Rocky Cape in Bass Strait." Mount Norfolk at the same time bore north-east distant eight miles.

MOUNT NORFOLK. NATIVES OF INTERVIEW RIVER

The morning of March 10th was ushered in with heavy rain and a boisterous sea, and the travellers decided to remain at this camp for two days and explore in different directions. While he stayed here Jorgensen returned to Mount Norfolk, and saw some better grass country, overgrown with pine trees of diminutive size for the most part and having an abundant supply of water. On this day an interview took place with a tribe of Tasmanians—natives of the west coast, and consisting of men, women and children, about twenty in number. They put down their spears and the white party also put their fire-arms on the ground. One old native woman seemed to wield great authority among them, and four or five of the younger ones appeared very jocular, although the white party thought they were not very modest. All parted on the best of terms.

Next day, March 11th, the weather was again stormy. At daybreak, four men left the hut to seek the natives seen the day before to the southward ; but, the Tasmanians having departed, they were disappointed and returned in the evening wet, cold, and hungry, " regretting that they had gone on a fool's errand."

On the 12th, accompanied by Jorgensen and other members of the party, Mr. Lorimer climbed to the top of Mount Norfolk and obtained a fine view of the mountains of the Dundas Range, which Jorgensen had frequently seen from an opposite

[1] Possibly this was Jacob's Boat Harbour.

direction, while journeying through the lakes. The land on this side of the mountain was thought "very poor," and before leaving it the men set fire to the grass. Soon afterwards Mount Norfolk "was seen to be all in a blaze."

Next morning the wind, which since leaving Church Cove had been westerly, suddenly shifted to the east. Resuming their journey the travellers continued in a southerly direction along the coast to yet another boat harbour. During this day they crossed several rivers of considerable depth whose entrances were choked with sand and driftwood, saw native footmarks on the beaches, and on higher ground met with patches of good land covered with honeysuckle. Mount Nelson[1] from their camp on this evening bore N.N.E. ½ E. They called this harbour Native Well Bay.[2]

On the following day, March 14th, Jorgensen and Mr. Lorimer "set out early in the day to trace the sea coast in search of a boat harbour," and the former says: "We proceeded a long way down the coast but could discover no safe place. . . ." Sand mountains of remarkable appearance, all entirely bare, were discovered. The land near the sea was indifferent, possessing no timber fit for building and very few kangaroos. The inland country looked clear. Both Jorgensen and Lorimer tried, unsuccessfully, to find the banks of Pieman's River and to trace the course of the stream, for until they could be certain that there was a passage from this river to the Shannon they were unwilling to let the whale-boat depart. Again the Dane accuses Mr. Lorimer of miscalculating his distances, and writes: "According to him we had passed about 125 miles down the coast, when in reality Pieman's River[3] is not above 73 from Mount Cameron."

THE EXPEDITION LEAVES THE COAST

The two leaders finally agreed that they would leave the coast at Native Well Bay and travel eastwardly from there

[1] Nelson appears to have been written by mistake for another mountain.
[2] Because a native well was found there.
[3] Mr. Curr says Pieman's River is seventy-five miles south of Cape Grim in a straight line.

to the opening south of Mount Dundas, which had been seen by the Dane in his previous tours. They also decided to send the whale-boat back to Circular Head. Jorgensen adds: "As we are anxious to be made acquainted with the whole country as far as Pieman's River, and as we are also anxious to ascertain the course of that river from its source, we intend to-morrow to fit out our knapsacks." The whole of the 15th was spent in making preparations for the intended expedition. On examining their provisions, these were found to have dwindled considerably more than could have been expected, which caused the two leaders much anxiety. It was determined to put by a reserve at once, in case their party might be compelled to return home that way, and on March 16th, before leaving Native Well Bay, two small bags of flour, each containing sixteen pounds, were buried in a dry spot of ground at the encampment. A fire was made over the place as a camouflage to prevent natives discovering them. The explorers then set out on their travels, the boat's crew assisting to carry some of the baggage for the first few miles, but returning in the evening to the whale-boat.

After bidding the seamen farewell, the rest of the party continued their journey for a short distance before encamping for the night near a creek of fine water. The only kangaroo seen throughout the day was then caught, and afforded a welcome supper for every one, as well as a good meal for their dogs.

Next day, the 17th, proceeding by a route that led them east-south-eastward close to the range of mountains often observed in their advance, they directed their course towards a single mountain which had been sighted several days before they had quitted the boat's crew. Jorgensen remarks: "Many mistake this for the Frenchman's Cap, but it is very unlike it. It is, however, the only visible mount from Native Well Bay (the last boat harbour) and has the perfect appearance of an obtuse triangle. It was intended to name it the Travellers' Guide, but, there being another mountain in the country of that name, it was named Mount Jubilee. No traveller can go out of his course if bearing straight down upon this mountain, at the same time taking care to keep it a little on the right."

Having passed along the side of the range which they named the Duffryn Mountains,[1] their road led over clear ground of light grey sand and heath until, a little over a mile from their last camp, they came to an immensely deep gully. At the bottom there ran a river which looked deep and rapid. The banks of the gully were clothed with beautiful ferns, not usually seen in these parts, while pine trees and stately gum trees grew on both sides. The descent into it was almost perpendicular and when the men entered it heavy rocks crashed downward to the great danger of those who led the way. At noon they drew close to the south end of the Duffryn Range and saw Mount Norfolk bearing N. 10° E.; they therefore struck out in an east-south-easterly direction and traced a winding path round the end of the range until they gradually lost sight of Mount Norfolk.

A full view of a lofty range [2] of mountains was now obtained. One conspicuous mount upon it Jorgensen recognized as Mount Dundas; of another, circular in form, that intervened between it and them, he remarks: "Anyone travelling this road keeping between this mountain and Mount Jubilee cannot help meeting with Mount Dundas." He and his companions were at this time about ten miles distant from the sea, and they encamped at the close of day near a deep gully covered with young peppermint trees.

The weather was intensely cold and the green branches of the young trees, the only wood obtainable, barely kept their fire alight during the night; to add to their discomfort their hut had been built on a strip of ground that was nearly perpendicular, consequently they found themselves continually sliding down the incline.

On the following day, March 18th, they ascended the Circular Mount, which, in honour of the day, was named Mount Sunday.[3] (Jorgensen believed it was about seventy miles from Cape Grim, but Mr. Lorimer made the distance

[1] Possibly at the suggestion of a Welshman, one of the party.

[2] In his journal Jorgensen writes: "We shall term on all occasions the lofty range running N.W. and S.E. in the N.W. quarter—the Dundas Range, of which Mount Dundas forms a conspicuous part."

[3] It will be seen on maps of Tasmania to-day.

128 miles). From here Mount Dundas "looked like a blue mountain flat on the top." The bearings per compass were: the extreme of the large range S.E. by E., twenty-five miles distant. Low part of the same range, but a little more to northward, E. by S., sixteen miles distant. Mount Jubilee S.E. by S., distant seven miles. Mount Norfolk (now again in view through an opening) N. by W.

PIEMAN'S RIVER. WILD COUNTRY

At daylight on the 19th it was seen with satisfaction that a clear road stretched for some distance before them. At one p.m. they reached the foot of Mount Jubilee. Leaving it about two miles to the southward—with Mount Norfolk at this time bearing N. W. ¼ W.—they continued on a due easterly course, and eventually found themselves on the north bank of a river which they knew must be Pieman's River.

They passed down to it through an immensely heavy scrub and in an almost perpendicular line, the depth of the descent being several hundred feet, and on their way "were often in danger of being precipitated downwards." They reached the bottom at a spot where the river "runs wide and assumes the appearance of a large basin." Here they could go no farther, but by crawling on their hands and knees with great difficulty arrived at some rocks "higher up" by which they got over the river—at a very unsafe crossing—where the force of the stream was very considerable and its current fierce and rapid.

The place at which they made Pieman's River was eighteen miles from its mouth. Numerous trees, the havoc of heavy floods, were strewn here in all directions, and foretold that this stream in winter would be impassable. Approaching darkness rendering it necessary for the men to climb the southern bank of the river without delay, they began the ascent, and it proved even steeper than the north bank. At last they reached the top and started to search for water—all being parched with thirst—but soon were brought to a standstill, for night came on leaving the river-bank in darkness, and a little way ahead a fallen tree, some nine feet in diameter blocked

their path. With danger surrounding them on all sides, it was decided to wait until the moon rose before continuing their search.

The ground upon which they had halted presented a complete ruin. Even in the dim light they could discern fallen trees lying in all directions, rocks torn up, and many other indications of a convulsion which "had been produced here either by a violent gale or by some other natural cause." It was impossible to move even a few yards without coming in contact with an uprooted tree, and Jorgensen writes: "It is a question whether human beings either civilized or savage had ever visited this savage-looking country; be this as it may . . . all about us seemed . . . sternly forbidding man to traverse those places which Nature has set apart for its own silent and awful repose." At last one of the party —a Welshman, named Tom Jones—crept along a large tree-trunk and, feeling his way with his feet, came to a tolerably clear spot. Straightway returning to his companions he guided them by the aid of a fire-stick to a safe resting-place where they spent the night and by digging obtained some water.

The next morning, March 20th, the journey was continued in torrents of rain, and with a high gale raging. About eleven a.m. they ascended a mountain which was named Mount Pieman. From its summit Mount Heemskerck was observed bearing S.S.E., Mount Dundas S.E., Mount Sunday W. by N., and Mount Jubilee S. by E. The face of the country before them seemed nothing but scrub, intercepted by deep gullies, apparently not impenetrable, and from the heights whence it was viewed looked possible to travel over and gave them hopes of reaching Mount Dundas. But, on reaching a lower level it was found that the scrub reached over their heads and the steepness of the ground made walking impossible. Eventually they cut a road through the thicket, a task that occupied many hours, and only two miles were travelled in the course of the day.

The country gradually became more and more difficult of penetration, and, one of the men meeting with rather a

serious accident, his companions realized that, even if they were able to hew a passage there it would be necessary to leave him behind to fight his way back to Circular Head. Since they were almost destitute of provisions and the dogs were starving, and since, in any circumstances, from where they were it would have taken four days to have cut a road to Mount Dundas (whence they had hoped to pass to the Shannon), the leaders of the expedition determined to return to Circular Head without delay.

On this day, March 20th, they again ascended Mount Pieman, where they took up their station for the night. The Welshman, who had taken the dogs out hunting, returned to the camp in the evening with two wombats.[1] The finding of the wombats—though the rank taste of their flesh was very unpalatable and only absolute necessity would have induced the men to eat it—rendered it less imperative for them to hurry back to Circular Head, and they therefore decided to remain a day or two on the mountain to make observations and "to endeavour to trace an easier line of road than that which has been discovered." During his stay here Mr. Lorimer drew several sketches of the mountains and rivers that had been seen last.

On Wednesday, March 21st, fine weather set in (this was generally the case when the wind blew from the E. and N.E.), and Jorgensen says that he was able to obtain a view of other mountains from this mountain. He identified Mount Dundas and the Parson's Hood on the same range, the latter being "too conspicuous to be mistaken."

LORIMER EXPLORES PIEMAN'S RIVER

On March 22nd the small company began their homeward journey and went back to Pieman's River, when they ascertained that the course of the stream turned from N.E. to S.W. In their travels on this day another wombat was caught, and it was remarked that these animals were found wherever the soil

[1] Wombats are entirely nocturnal, never issuing from their holes till evening, and returning to them with the first rays of the morning.

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was starved and scrubby. Little further progress was made during the afternoon, and the explorers seem to have covered only one mile of ground—encamping at evening on the river bank.

Next morning, March 23rd, they crossed the river, after having searched for some time for a better crossing than the very unsafe one by which they had at first got over, but without success. They were compelled to face its dangers a second time and cross it on the rocks, and afterwards continued near the river whenever possible, yet "travelled mostly at some distance from it so as not to get entangled in scrub." At night they pitched their tent on the bank of a small rivulet.

Mr. Lorimer had noticed that on Mr. Curr's map the land to the northward of Pieman's River—not far from the coast—was marked "supposed good land." He believed that it was most important to find out if the statement on the map was correct, and, on the 24th, left the camp,[1] accompanied by Thomas Jones, to explore Pieman's River and to trace it to its mouth. Jorgensen remained behind—probably to hunt kangaroo—for he states in his diary that it was now very difficult to obtain them for food which they all needed so badly, "the dogs being out of condition, and Fannie the best of the three was shortly about to have puppies; Boxer being more of the watchdog type, and Spring altogether of a bad breed."

At night Jorgensen felt great uneasiness when there were "no signs of Mr. Lorimer"; for he "had taken no provisions with him." Late in the afternoon of the following day, March 25th, however, he came back safely to the camp. He had discovered that, at the entrance and for some distance up Pieman's River, its stream was broad and deep; that it would contain vessels of considerable burthen and that it had a bar-mouth.[2] He "thought it might be navigable did not sand choke the entrance to such a degree that even boats cannot enter!" Jorgensen records the information

[1] The men now were seven miles from Mount Pieman, which bore E. by S.

[2] Lorimer's account of this river is a very early one. His journal appears to be missing; Jorgensen's is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and through the kindness of Mr. Hugh Wright, the librarian, to whom my very cordial thanks are due, many of the extracts quoted above are taken from it.

given him by Lorimer respecting the land. "A man," he says, "might cross at the bar at low water a little above the middle."

"This we think doubtful," remarks Jorgensen. "The land in every direction is bad. The river runs in a N.E. and S.W. direction," ("and this we know to be its true course"—admits the Dane—"as the first place where we crossed it is 18 miles from the mouth.")

"Mr. Lorimer again saw Mount Dundas, from a place about 2 miles from the mouth of the river, bearing E.S.E. He took a drawing of it and this made it appear precisely as it did from the Bluff Rock whence I had seen this mountain—near the Great Lake and from the Big River. From Pieman's Hill Mount Dundas bore S.E. by E. and these two bearings reduce the true bearing of it to a certainty. Mr. Lorimer again observed the clear opening near the mountain and free of scrub, but the whole of the road between was overrun with thick scrub.

"In returning, Mr. Lorimer took the trouble to count his steps (each one yard long) [1] and he found the distance from the mouth of the river to our present station 11 miles, 1240 yards, course north-east."

"Mr. Lorimer brought back with him two fine specimens of rich iron ore, each of a different quality, and he described a number of native canoes [Jorgensen sometimes calls them rafts] that he had seen on the river banks by which the blacks were in the habit of crossing Pieman's River." On Arrowsmith's map of Tasmania published in February, 1832, there are traces of Lorimer's travels. The words "Heathy and sandy, Lorimer's Journal, 1827," are written across this locality and it is evident that the "supposed good land" marked on the map which Mr. Curr possessed did not, in fact, exist.

On the morning of the 26th the party resumed their journey in the direction of the coast and penetrated a deep gully which took them four hours to pass through when they "finally got entangled in some six-wire scrub" and had to cut a way out

[1] A pace is 30 inches long and seldom more, and if Mr. Lorimer reckoned his paces at 36 inches it would account for his over-estimating his distances.

of it. They encamped in a downpour of rain that drenched their knapsacks and, their bread becoming sodden, they had to subsist solely on a little soft bread and tea.

Next morning heavy rain again fell. Mr. Lorimer and Thomas Jones [1] on this day went in search of kangaroo and took the dog Spring with them. The men now had to depend entirely upon what the dogs caught. According to Jorgensen, Spring had an unfortunate habit of breaking in on the game, and, having run down a kangaroo, was following his usual custom by starting to devour it, which so exasperated Lorimer that, probably only wishing to scare the dog, he fired off his gun. Unfortunately, the shot killed Spring and Jorgensen says that this act caused great inconvenience to the party and he also adds "finally cost Mr. Lorimer his life." [1]

At noon on the 27th the weather grew clearer, and their next stage was in the direction of Native Well Bay, where they did not arrive until the following morning. This boat harbour derived its name from a remarkable well of water discovered on the outward journey which appeared to have been frequently used by the natives. On reaching the spot the men dug up the thirty-two pounds of flour that they had buried on a former occasion and found it quite dry and safe. The night was spent at this place, but it was so intensely cold that they had little sleep.

NATIVE HUTS AND SCREENS

On the 29th they continued their advance up the west coast, and crossed Native-hut River, so called from "a peaceable native tribe who reside there in good huts." During the day the Welshman went in quest of kangaroo without success; the weather was boisterous and the wind blew so hard that the "blanket tent could not be fixed."

Jorgensen notices the remarkable sand-hills seen in the

[1] Jorgensen nearly always calls him the Welshman and does not often mention him by name.

[2] Presumably because Jorgensen thought the dog would have supplied Lorimer and the party with food and rendered his journey alone to Circular Head needless, but there seems no certainty that the dog would have discontinued eating what he had caught out hunting, leaving them little or nothing.

vicinity. One of these he thought equal in height to Mount Nelson ; it assumed all the appearance of an irregular rocky mountain sloping at each end. " On the top is a plain surface from 5 to 6 miles in length and proportionately broad. As the sand is very compact, the middle of the plain seems more hollow than the edges and the undulations of sand, resembling an ocean agitated by a strong breeze, supply a diminutive idea of the deserts of Arabia . . . from the hardness of the sand we may be led to conjecture that in course of ages it may change into rocky substance and furnish a precarious knowledge of the original formation of all mountains."

On the outward journey, when coming down the coast from Mount Cameron, the weather had been fine and the wind moderate. On the return journey the wind blew so fiercely that the seashore was inundated by the waves and the men often found it impossible to walk along the beach. Places which previously had been considered good boat harbours were now nothing but a confused mass of breakers, the sea rolling over them furiously and continuously, and Jorgensen remarks that "if the boat had been on the coast she could not have lived in such a sea."

On March 30th, in spite of the rough and stormy weather, the explorers pushed on and at nightfall encamped in a small thicket near Jacob's Boat Harbour.[1] On the way to this thicket, they saw a very neat and compact native hut (as all huts are in this quarter) " far different from those seen to the eastward." It " showed all the simple rudiments of Gothic architecture and rose in the shape of an oblong dome, and might easily contain from 16 to 20 persons. The wood used for the principal supports was bent in a curve and seemed to have been rendered hard by fire. It was uncommonly neatly thatched ;[2] and the doorway was about 2½ feet high." The natives of the west coast seem to have constructed screens to shield them from the cold—where fuel was scarce. The

[1] Jorgensen gives these distances on March 30th. From Native Well Bay to Jacob's Boat Harbour, courses—N.E. three miles ; North one and a half miles ; N.W. by W. four and a half miles.

[2] More than one explorer has remarked that the natives thatched their huts very neatly.

women were expert basket-makers and could plait straw very neatly. These natives subsisted chiefly on muttonfish and crawfish and it was the woman's duty to dive for fish while the men looked on. Jorgensen states that "After walking five miles north from Jacob's harbour towards Venables' harbour we stood *exactly west of Mount Norfolk.*[1] . . . At 4 o'clock passed Venables' boat harbour."

PROVISIONS RUN SHORT. LORIMER'S GREAT SACRIFICE

The travellers now had little flour and every other sort of provision was expended. They boiled the native herbs (tea-tree), hoping they would be nourishing, but they only produced lassitude and weakness, nor did they possess any of the virtues of the China tea leaf.

Three days later, on the 3rd of April, Church River was again sighted, and in order to get across the stream it was found necessary to build a canoe out of driftwood that had been washed up on the sands. The boatbuilders accomplished their task but the canoe was not a great success, for, although made out of large logs, it would only carry one person over the river at a time. Another difficulty arose: the passengers had to be conveyed over the widest part of the stream and near its entrance, because farther inland the banks were covered with scrub, and there was no landing place, consequently a little time was lost in crossing it. After leaving Church River some spars were noticed on the beach which Jorgensen thought had once belonged to a large schooner. He had observed many similar pieces of wreckage, some piled to an amazing height by the waves, others strewn about the coast, and among these were the "stern and other parts of a large vessel."

On the 4th of April the party reached West Point, and on the following day arrived at Mount Cameron, where they

[1] Mount Norfolk is ten miles east of Sandy Cape; Jacobs' Boat Harbour is south of the cape and Venables' Boat Harbour north of it. Native Well Bay, of course, lies south of Jacob's Boat Harbour. It is sometimes mistakenly placed to the north of Sandy Cape.

remained for the night. There was now not a morsel of flour nor of any other food left, and every one felt the pangs of hunger acutely. On leaving the coast, Fannie, the dog which had had puppies, and Boxer, had all the appearance of skeletons, for they had seen nothing to eat for days. They set off into the bush and returned to the camp with their jaws covered with blood. It was naturally supposed that they had killed some kind of game, and the Welshman was sent out with them to see if he could trace any. When he got back he reported that he had found the skin and a small piece of the tail of a kangaroo and that the rest had all been devoured. According to Jorgensen, this was an improbable story; nor was the dog Fannie ever seen again, and for this Jorgensen seems to have blamed Tom Jones.[1]

On the 6th the party left Mount Cameron for Robbins Passage. During the journey thither, to their delight, they enjoyed a glimpse of Circular Head and concluded that their troubles would soon be at an end. Unfortunately, they took a direct course in trying to reach it and immediately became entangled in large mud flats divided by rivers and channels which they could not cross. On this and the following day, April 7th, they often got stuck fast in the mud through being very weak, so that Jorgensen says: "Some seemed inclined to remain in that situation and let the tide flow over them." In the course of the day they arrived at Duck River, about fifteen miles distant from Circular Head; but, after traversing its banks for some time, could discover no place where they could get across. "The river seemed not fordable," remarks Jorgensen.

They therefore began to construct a raft out of dead wood that they had gathered, and for further safety a blanket was cut in strips to make a rope with which to draw the raft to the shore in case of accident. But the chief reliance was placed upon Tom Jones, who had frequently stated that he could swim well and could cross a river even with a heavy knapsack on his back.

[1] Boxer disappeared on the following day—or the day after—and probably both dogs now left the starving men and took to the bush.

The first difficulty to overcome was the muddiness of the river banks, which were so steep and so thickly covered with mud that the men sank up to the middle when trying to launch the raft. It was found necessary to make a platform of small trees for it, and on this the raft was placed. It was then launched with one end resting on the platform. Jorgensen got up on it with his knapsack on his back and a pole in his hand to paddle himself over. He shoved the raft off from the bank, but the moment it "was afloat it went down." Fortunately, the pole stuck fast in the mud, so that he was able to reach land again. As Jones did not come to his rescue he persuaded Mr. Lorimer not to try and cross there, but to proceed up the river until a safe crossing could be found.

Mr. Lorimer "acquiesced," and after travelling four miles the men encamped for the night. On the following morning, Sunday, April 8th, by "a strange fatality," Mr. Lorimer changed his mind and again went down towards the mouth of the river, where he thought it not unlikely he should find a shallow place. For two days he had been "extremely uneasy" and was anxious to get to Circular Head. He had now decided that, if the men could not follow him, he would go alone and send out provisions and horses to their aid. With the blanket round his waist, therefore, he went into the river at low water. The members of his party were anxious for his safety, but as he had declared he could swim a little, and as he would be of his depth for a distance of only three yards, Jorgensen says he was suffered to make the attempt, which he thus describes: "He had no sooner reached the middle of the river than he went down and after rising twice he sank and we saw him no more. The rope was pulled but it broke. Jones was now eagerly requested to plunge into the river to save Mr. Lorimer, but the wretched fellow stood aghast and said he could not swim. Thus a fellow creature lost his life."

After waiting for a considerable time to see whether Mr. Lorimer might again appear, the rest of the party ran up the river banks with the utmost speed and, about five miles higher up and within a mile of the very spot where they had encamped the night before, they found a fallen tree across the

river by which they got over with much ease. They followed the stream downwards on the opposite side to the place where Mr. Lorimer had last appeared, and waited there to see if they could learn anything further of his fate; "but," says Jorgensen, "he was gone for ever." They continued travelling after dark, and in crossing another small river on a slippery tree Jorgensen fell into it and himself narrowly escaped drowning.

Next morning, April 9th, the party pursued their way to Circular Head. They espied on the seashore some gulls and crows picking at the tail of a dog-fish; and, although now within only a few miles of their destination, they eagerly seized on the spoil before them, made a fire and cooked a piece of fish, which they devoured greedily.

About three o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at Circular Head.

BOTANY OF THE WEST COAST

The explorers have told us little about the botany of the West coast, and if we would gain any knowledge of the plants seen by Jorgensen and Lorimer we must turn to Allan Cunningham's account of its flora. In 1819 he was on board H.M.S. *Mermaid* when that ship surveyed Macquarie Harbour, which lies thirty-three miles southward from the Conical Rocks at Pieman's River.

On arriving at the West coast, Cunningham writes: "*Banksia australis* skirts the rocky shores with some of its scrubby specimens . . . The brush was usually *Melaleuca squarrosa* densely matted together with *Cassytha pubescens*. *Lepidium* (Willd.), a south-sea pepper-grass, with *Atriplex Halimus* covered the rocks and formed retreats for sea-fowl . . . The boggy flats are covered with *Sprengelia incarnata*, the delicate *Patersonia glauca* and some small *Euphrasia*; the hills abound with *Epacris*, which appears distinct from *E. impressa*, whose peaklike crimson cylindrical flowers were greatly admired, and it seems intermediate between that species and *heteronema*." Elsewhere he met with other heath-like plants which the explorers, in search of grass country, had

regarded with so much disdain. Among the trees were the Huon Pine, some specimens sixty feet high measuring six feet in diameter; and "their white soft wood, rugged bark and strong resinous scent clearly indicated their natural order." *Podocarpus aspleniifolia*, the pine of Adventure Bay, of the same height, was a beautiful and very "curious-foliaged" tree, seen "of all ages from seedlings upwards." The scented *Atherospermum moschata* and the Native Birch, the *Acacia melanoxylon*, and another having brittle branches of a disagreeable smell, *Cenarrhenes nitida*, were also abundant. He continues: "These moist shades presented me with large specimens of Spice bark, *Tasmannia aromatica*, a genus proposed by Mr. Brown as a compliment to Tasman."

He afterwards saw the "beautiful *Carpondontos lucida*," and obtained capsules from some lofty specimens; *Canthium quadrifidum* (Labill.), a species of *Zieria*; *Aster stellulatus* and *Pimelea drupacea* being his next discoveries. The fallen decayed timber was covered with the radicant climbing fern, *Polypodium Billardieri*. The brushes and thickets of *Leptospermum ruscifolium* were full of a narrow-leaved *Eucalyptus* that appeared to be the *E. viminalis* of Labillardière, and formed a twiggy shrub. He does not mention many Eucalyptus trees, perhaps because these giants of the forest did not grow plentifully at Macquarie Harbour. But it seems possible that the huge fallen trees seen by Jorgensen's and Lorimer's party at the desolate ford at Pieman's River were either *Eucalyptus resinifera* or *E. Globulus* (of Labillardière), this last having received its name because of the coat-button shape of the capsule.

CHAPTER XII

HIGHFIELD: MR. HELLYER'S EXPLORATIONS

THE move to Circular Head was accomplished by degrees. On October 14th, 1826, Mr. Curr wrote from Georgetown to Mr. Adey at the Mersey to inform him of his preparations. He stated that the live stock were in the best possible condition and that he was awaiting twenty-five prisoners who had been assigned to the Company and intended "taking them himself in the *Tranmere* to Circular Head." He requested Mr. Adey to join him at Georgetown at the earliest possible moment and continues: "I shall keep the *Tranmere* here till you arrive. Mr. Goldie should accompany you and I request you to bring one of the tents and all the stores not necessarily left behind. Mr Fossey can remain where he is until Mr. Hellyer returns."

With all her stores and passengers on board, the *Tranmere* left Georgetown about October 21st. When she was on the point of sailing Mr. Curr handed Mr. Adey a paper regulating the scale of rations which "you are to adopt from the day of your arrival at Circular Head."

The ship reached her port of destination and landed her passengers safely, although she met with a serious accident while lying in the harbour and only half her cargo had been discharged. A furious gale raged from the eastward and, having parted from one of her anchors, she was forced to return at once to Launceston for repairs, with much of her freight still on board. On these being attended to the *Tranmere* put to sea again and eventually arrived safely at Circular Head, where the rest of her cargo was delivered. The *Tranmere*, however, was not the only ship to take part in the making of the settlement; the schooner *Nelson* and the cutters *Ellen* and *Fanny* also conveyed passengers and live stock thither.

On the first occasion that he brought settlers to Circular Head, Mr. Curr could have paid only a flying visit to the port

and departed (possibly in one of the cutters or the schooner), leaving the direction of its affairs in Mr. Adey's hands, for we find him back at Hobart on November 10th, when he wrote to Mr. Adey: "I received your account of the gale in which the *Tranmere* broke her chain. . . . It seems that either the harbour must be rendered more secure or a new one found . . . Consult Captain Wales . . . you will be right to take him to examine the harbours in Robbins Passage and the remainder of the north coast."

At first the settlers at Circular Head seem to have lived through precarious days owing to occasional delays in the delivery of their supplies, yet nevertheless their new homes gradually began to take shape. A house, the frame and fittings of which had been sent from England, was erected on land joining the rocky promontory; and it proved a very comfortable dwelling. In Mr. Curr's letters he described it as "the house on the Garden Plain," this evidently being the first designation for the plot of ground on which it stood. Later it was distinguished by the name of Highfield House—Highfield being the name given to the settlement itself. The house was surrounded by an enclosure of five acres and a quarter, including a garden, orchard and three paddocks. The enclosed land had been drained and fenced under Mr. Goldie's directions.

By kind permission of the Directors of the Van Diemen's Land Company, it has been possible to reproduce a photograph of Highfield House, taken from a picture in the Company's possession which was painted by Mr. Hellyer in 1832—five years after the *Caroline* had visited Tasmania. His initials "H. H." and "V.D.L. Co. Decr. 1832" appear on it. The buildings first erected on the Garden Plain comprised, in addition to Highfield House, a smaller house for the use of the superior officers, cottages and huts for servants and labourers, blacksmiths' and carpenters' shops, a large storehouse, a barn and thrashing machine, and requisite stables and stalls for the stock.

As well as having to wait for supplies, other drawbacks were experienced by the people at the settlement, one being

the surprise visits to which they were subject from the Tasmanian natives. The natives, we read, "twice burnt down a hut," and committed various robberies "for which they have never been molested in any way." But on these occasions, although their actions irritated their white neighbours exceedingly, very little was seen of the Tasmanians themselves, and we are told that the natives "slink away like serpents through the scrub and are lost in an instant."

"PEAK LIKE A VOLCANO" SURVEYED

Mr. Curr lost no time in giving instructions to his officers to survey the land around Circular Head and, if possible, to find more grass country, for the whole quantity of useful land seen by Mr. Goldie on the north-west coast comprised only about a third of what had been promised to the Company by the British Government. Mr. Curr, too, had already notified the Lieutenant-Governor that he hoped to be ready in the middle of November for the land to be surveyed, yet that month had passed without any explorations of importance being carried out.

On February 1st, 1827, however, he dispatched Mr. Hellyer on an expedition southwards to examine some open country which twice had been seen from different points of the north coast. It was situated on the lofty table-land between Circular Head and the south-east. The Surveyor left Circular Head with a party consisting of Richard Frederick and three other men, with three pack-horses and some kangaroo dogs to penetrate inland. On February 6th he arrived at a mountain known as the Dip, which lies south-west of Rocky Cape, and from its summit viewed the landscape and sighted a plain to the northward situated fifteen miles from Table Cape. He also could see, beyond the north end of the "Peak like a Volcano," a large tract of open grass country. This, no doubt, was the land that Mr. Curr wished him to examine. It lay in the south-east by east, which, Hellyer says, "I considered the most desirable route for me to take and to endeavour to ascend the Peak—the land in the south being all

high forest, tier above tier, while in the west it was one mass of low forest, so flat that I could see Mount Cameron and Cape Grim forty miles away, neither of which is very lofty."

After taking a minute survey of his surroundings, he came down from the mountain and gave orders for the pack-horses to continue their journey through a steep forest towards an extensive patch of green sward which he called Dipwood Marsh. Here was found an abundance of fresh young grass and somewhat coarse herbage with grass-trees and fern. Laurel-fern and feather-fern were everywhere. The marsh was four or five miles in length and half a mile wide. Its grey sandy soil was strewn with specimens of milky quartz, and there were signs that natives frequented it, for the grass had recently been burnt. A great number of kangaroos were seen. Mr. Hellyer left the pack-horses and the kangaroo dogs at this marsh in charge of two men, Wells and Higginson, both already "knocked up," and, taking with him Richard Frederick and Isaac Cutts, who were more able-bodied, he set out in the direction of the open country. Each of the party "carried a gun, and a knapsack containing a large blanket and a fortnight's provisions."[1]

They left Dipwood Marsh on the 7th, and for five days had a most fatiguing march through a thick dark forest of Tasmanian myrtles[2] and over a succession of woody mountains. The men climbed the trees whenever it was thought likely that a view of the country in the south-east might be obtained, but owing to the dense masses of foliage everywhere no distant object could be seen—until, on the evening of the 11th, the "Peak like a Volcano" was sighted, a good three days' march away. Their leader then saw that if he wished to reach the open country he would be unable to go near the Peak in the limited time at his disposal. He therefore changed his plans and determined to make the mountain his goal in this expedition and to win his way to it by the most direct route.

[1] They certainly seem to have carried axes, but these are not mentioned in the diary.

[2] *Fagus Cunninghamii*. "The myrtle resembles the elm, but there are no elms like these gigantic trees."—Hellyer's diary.

THE EMU RIVER: ST. VALENTINE'S PEAK

On the morning of the 12th, Mr. Hellyer altered his course from S.E. by E. to S.E. by S.½ S.—a route that proved as trying as the previous one. On the 13th, an emu track down the side of a hill gave promise of better travelling, and about noon grassy hills suddenly appeared, whose extent they "could not gauge." The change to the hills was "reviving." The Peak was still some distance away. The hills and a forest of myrtles similar to that previously passed through were left behind, and before long the travellers were brought to a halt before "the widest and deepest river seen since leaving Circular Head." Its course curved from S.W. to E.N.E. They crossed it on a fallen tree "quite twenty-five feet above the stream," and Hellyer named it the Emu River and believed that it ran round the mountain to which he and his men were bound. After leaving the river seven distinct tiers of forest still had to be surmounted before they arrived at the base of the "Peak like a Volcano."

On the night of the 13th they rested on the fourth hill of the ascent, and on the 14th, a wet and gloomy day, after hard climbing, about two o'clock gained the north pyramid of rock, the spire being still far above them—in the clouds. Seeing the weather thickening to windward and fearing that the whole mountain would soon be hidden out of sight, Hellyer tried to make a sketch of it, but the gathering clouds and the falling rain prevented its being finished. A thick, impenetrable mist then came up, and they were obliged to seek refuge in a nook among the rocks where, wrapped in their blankets, they sheltered from the intense cold. Being forced to wait until five o'clock for the fog to clear and let them descend the mountain, they caught a fleeting glimpse of fine open country to the north-east and south-west.

The descent was a dangerous one, and they clutched the sharp perpendicular rocks which jutted out in their path and took hold of the small plants growing between them to help themselves down the mountain. Just before dark they reached

a spot where they found water, and, having lighted a fire, spent the night there, while the rain fell unceasingly.

The morning of the 15th broke clear and serene. Once more the party toiled up the steep mountain with their loads. Upon reaching the top they broke through the thick scrub and windweed, climbed over masses of wet and slippery rock, and finally gained its highest point—"a good 3,000 feet above the sea." [1] Having found the stump of a withered box-tree, Hellyer cut the words "St. Valentine's Peak," and the date of his ascent upon it, and then drove the stump into a cleft of the topmost rocks leaving its roots in the air. At the same time the men rolled some huge blocks of granite down the side of the mountain, which in falling seemed to smoke when they struck the rocks beneath, and rebounding from one to another, crashed in splintered fragments to its base.

Thus was the "Peak like a Volcano" rechristened,[2] although it has been already told how it was reached first by Jorgensen, who had won his way there from the southward. Hellyer thus describes it: "The Peak . . . when viewed from the east or west side is in shape like a three-masted ship in full sail and when seen from the north or south it is as sharp as any peak can be imagined, the sides being nearly perpendicular. Its base extends six miles in length and about three miles in width." We are reminded that Flinders had also seen it in both aspects.

From its summit Hellyer obtained a very fine view of the surrounding country and of Bass Strait. He saw that the grassy tract, north of the Emu River, over which he had lately travelled, ran for many miles to the south-west and united with large open country in the north-east which appeared to be covered with luxuriant grass. In the west-south-west some well-wooded territory was given the name of Brown Forest on the map which he was making. Hilly forest also was seen to extend from the Emu River to the Peak. A hill on its north-west side, which was very lofty and woody to the top, he named "Companion Hill." He descended the

[1] Captain Stokes gives its height as 4,100 feet.

[2] For many years afterwards, however, mapmakers retained Flinders' name for it.

Peak on the south side, and collected some specimens of granite rock, breaking off several lumps "sparkling with crystals," which he brought away in his knapsack. In the evening the party made their way to an open spot that had been seen from its summit. It bore a resemblance to "a neglected old park in England," and the name Old Park [1] was given to it.

Here were 1,000 to 1,500 acres of good land in one large patch, with hardly a tree excepting a few clumps of blackwood. Dead trees lay rotting; the grass had run to seed, its nearly white tops making it conspicuous from a great distance. Kangaroos were plentiful and their tracks ran in all directions. A brook flowing south-easterly from Valentine's Peak watered Old Park and was thought to be the source of the Leven River; the banks were green with trefoil and the leader of the party writes: "We found here mushrooms as good as any I have tasted in England." He now decided as his time was growing short to take a straight line over the open country and cut his way through mountain and forest back to the green marsh where he had left his men and horses. But before doing this he wished to view the fine open tract ten miles off. Striking out west-south-west, he directed his course towards it over some gentle-rising hills with pleasant brooks, whose banks "were adorned with blackwood and many elegant shrubs." At sunset his men disturbed some emus, which escaped their guns, and afterwards killed two kangaroos. The explorers then halted for the night amid most picturesque surroundings. A fire was made there which set the dry grass alight, and the spreading flames quickly illumined the darkness of the bush: a radiant scene was witnessed until a little rain gradually extinguished the crimson glow.

SURREY HILLS, BROWN FOREST, AND THE DON

On the 16th, continuing west-south-west, Hellyer's party once again identified the Emu River, which here ran north-north-west. They crossed it and passed through country where wattle birds were seen and many blackened hills, all

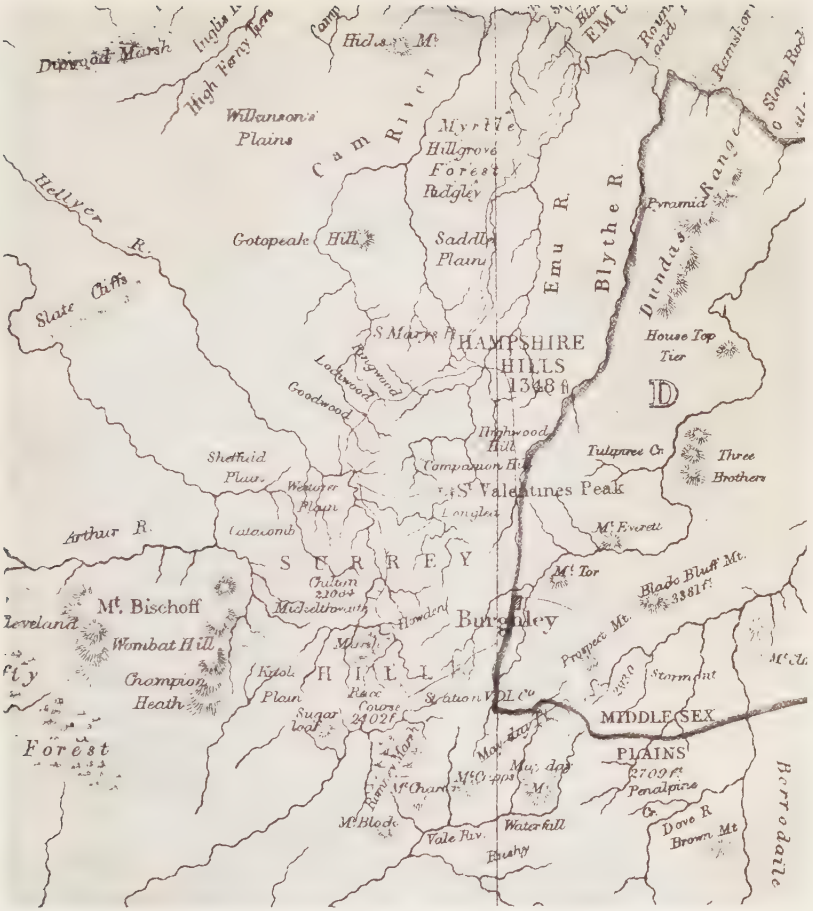
[1] See Arrowsmith's map, 1842.

bare of grass, which probably had been burnt by natives. A number of huts close at hand and some trees near them showed that the bark of which these shelters were made had been cut from their trunks. Soon afterwards a noble river was seen with a strong current gliding from south to northwards. Hellyer says: "I called it the Don," by way of distinction, and he adds: "It was 50 yards wide and took us up to the middle in its shallowest part." Its banks "were sloping shrubberies." At a short distance from the river he saw "the most magnificent grass hill I have seen in the country . . . consisting of level terraces . . . crowned with a straight row of stately peppermint-trees, beyond . . . there is not a tree for four miles." He then came to a "grand opening" (which he had observed from the peak) "beyond the Brown Forest." [1]

The next morning was wet and cloudy, yet through the mist St. Valentine's Peak could be seen bearing east-north-east—its spire enveloped in the clouds. Mr. Hellyer christened the grass-land, which ran from its south side, the Surrey Hills, as being "about the same distance inland as that county in England." [2] He describes them as resembling English enclosures "with brooks between . . . with belts of beautiful shrubs in every vale, including the blue-leafed tea tree, the sassafras, blackwood, box, sloe-leaf, musk-holly, celery-topped pine and the myrtle. The grasses, principally timothy, foxtail and single kangaroo grass, the soil . . . a dark vegetable mould. . . . The brooks have hard pebbly bottoms . . . and the water is as clear as crystal. The timber . . . very tall and straight . . . the trees in places 100 yards apart, some of a brownish hue." He had noticed their curious brown tint from St. Valentine's Peak when he marked this tract "Brown Forest" on his map, and now found that the brown tinge was due to the summer shoots of the peppermint and stringy-bark, which "took a peculiarly bronze colour."

[1] He had named the Brown Forest on seeing it from Valentine's Peak—it was part of the Surrey Hills. Evidently he reached the "grand opening" first and then travelled through the forest, or else there is a mistake in the wording of his diary.

[2] "The plains to the north of the peak being nearer the coast, I call them the Hampshire Hills. They appear even more park-like than the Surrey Hills and are handsomely clumped with trees."



THE HAMPSHIRE HILLS AND THE SURREY HILLS

Some open plains were next traversed, where there was not a single tree, and where kangaroos came in herds to watch the white men invade their own particular domain for the first time. Mr. Hellyer says " they stood gazing at us like fawns and in some instances came bounding towards us ; and if we shouted (at them) they ran like a flock of sheep ; we never saw so many together."

Continuing through Brown Forest for nearly twenty miles—until the 18th—the explorers approached a high mountain tier. On some marshes stretching from its base several snipe were seen, and two native huts, and around the huts the remains of many fire-places bore witness to the recent presence of a large body of natives.

In one of the huts Mr. Hellyer saw a drawing of the moon, " sketched in charcoal by a blackfellow." It had been drawn upon one of the bark slabs in the wall of the hut. The rough sketch revealed to him that there were artists among the natives, and he cut out the piece of bark on which this drawing appeared and placed it carefully in his knapsack. Before leaving the hut he himself made two other sketches in charcoal of the moon on the wall of slabs, putting the date beneath.

ARTHUR RIVER

From here the party started their journey north-west by north towards the Dip. Mr. Hellyer climbed one high forest tree hoping to obtain bearings, but without success. Nothing could be seen from the tree but the tops of other trees growing on the next high tier. On the 19th they came through a thick forest to the bend of a large, deep, and rapid river (larger than the Don), which at this place was over ten feet deep close to the bank. It came from the south-south-east and flowed west by south. Before long they again met this river running north-east and were obliged to wade through it. The ford was deep and dangerous, and they could hardly stem the current, but by keeping a tight hold of their poles all got safely over.

On February 20th they left the mountains and crossed steep hills without any variety to brighten the monotony of the bush. A change came suddenly on reaching a level spot

covered with tall ferns and stringy-bark. It was a capital piece of plough-land of about a hundred acres and formed a long, flat terrace against the side of a mountain. The noise of running water below told them that the river ran there. This flowed to the westward and was thought to have been joined by the Don, for its stream was noticeably larger. A better ford than the last having been found—with an island of gravel to rest upon—all got across it safely, and Mr. Hellyer named it the Arthur River, in compliment to the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land.

Keeping to their north-north-west course, at last an observation was obtained, when the east end of a range named Blue Peak Range was sighted, which warned Mr. Hellyer that he was still far from the camp at Dipwood Marsh and had travelled too far westward. He accordingly changed his course to north-north-east. Food was now growing very scarce and they had nothing to eat excepting flour mixed with water (even the sugar bag had been boiled to extract the last morsel of sweetness from it), and all were getting weaker.

On February 21st the river again confronted them! It ran to the eastward and then turned to the northward. Beyond it they came upon a line of perpendicular cliffs of slate 200 to 300 feet high. It was slate of the best quality, and, regretting that it was met with in such an out-of-the-way spot, Mr. Hellyer wrote jestingly on a slab: "Whoever is found stealing this slate will be dealt with according to law," and he remarks that if the Arthur River were navigable for barges the slate might be a valuable discovery, "for these cliffs . . . would supply all the world with slates."[1] Other dreary forests and other high mountains were passed, and at length "a highly dangerous serpentine ridge" formed another obstacle in their path, so rocky and narrow that it "resembled the top of a wall of a large castle," and on either side there ran a deep ravine.

STARVATION NEAR AT HAND

They crossed the dangerous barrier, and soon afterwards

[1] On Wyld's map of Tasmania the slate cliffs are shown situated between the Hellyer and Arthur Rivers.

met with another river (which they knew must be the Don) running westward through a deep valley of rugged rocks. The explorers waded across its stream (about 300 yards above a very beautiful cascade) and reached a mountain tier perfectly level on the top and thickly overgrown by an almost impenetrable espalier-grown scrub, where there " was hardly a hole big enough for a dog to get through below." Each one worked unflaggingly to pierce its dense thicket. Rain set in and nearly all day long the water streamed from their finger-tips, but Mr. Hellyer knew that they must get through it at any cost, for starvation " literally stared them in the face." The two men Frederick and Cutts grew despondent, fearing that possibly they " should never be heard of again like the seven soldiers that went from Macquarie Harbour to hunt for bushrangers " ; but, writes Mr. Hellyer, " I told them if we had only strength left to crawl . . . I was sure that we should get out."

Having fought their way through this intricate scrub, on the 23rd they " toiled as usual over tremendous mountains of forest," where they " had serious thoughts of throwing away everything they carried " ; and on the 24th arrived at the brink of a steep precipice from which a river could be seen below running to the north-east.[1] A place at which to descend the precipice was found, and a ford where they could cross the river, which was recognized as one seen previously when making their way to the Peak. This stream ran into the sea at Table Cape.

From the top of a high tree, a little later, Table Cape itself was seen, and from there they also caught a glimpse of the sea. These observations proved helpful to Mr. Hellyer, who altered his course to north-west, and on the 25th, after climbing several lofty ridges, the Dip was sighted only five miles away, bearing west-south-west. On seeing it, Hellyer says : " We became a new set of men in a moment."

From here they soon gained the hills above Dipwood Marsh—within a mile of the spot where the men and horses

[1] It was afterwards named Inglis River in honour of Mr. Inglis, Managing Director of the Company.

were left—where they fired a gun as a signal to announce their return. Presently an answering shot was heard, which greatly rejoiced Mr. Hellyer; for he says he could not tell whether Wells and Higginson might not have been murdered by the natives during his nineteen days' absence.

Coming down the hills, he was grieved to see two of the horses lying dead. The two men advanced to meet the travellers and were overjoyed at their return, having given up all hopes of ever seeing them again. They stated that the horses had eaten something—possibly a poisonous herb—that had killed them. The third horse had nearly died; but after being tended with much care, it grew stronger within a few days. Wells and Higginson had existed chiefly upon kangaroos and wombats, which the dogs had caught.

On the 27th the explorers quitted Dipwood Marsh for Circular Head. On the west side of the Dip they stopped to make a fire, hoping the smoke would be seen and that the settlement would realize that their provisions had run out. The fire blazed furiously and caught the grass, and for some time the men as well as the sick horse were in danger from the flames. But all their signals were in vain, for no food was brought to them.

They continued their journey to the mouth of Detention River—which took four days—and they made three large fires there as a signal for the boat, as agreed. No boat appearing, on the following day, March 3rd, they proceeded along the coast. In this route traces of copper were discovered among the rocks, which extended two miles along shore and inland along Crayfish River, which they crossed. On March 4th, with Frederick still leading the invalid horse, the party arrived safely at a hill near Circular Head, when Mr. Hellyer went forward and reported the result of his journey and the loss of the other horses to Mr. Adey.

Hellyer tells us that in this last journey they saw no natives, although they noticed recent traces of them. Green boughs, which had not been gathered two days, were lying near the embers of their fires. It was supposed that the blacks were not far off and that the green boughs might have served

them as mosquito-fans. The natives had cut steps in the trunks of the trees and, twenty miles from the sea, shells and claws of very large lobsters and crayfish were picked up which they had roasted and thrown away. Hellyer mentions a curious insect called the " native straw." He believed that a large creature inhabited the forest, for " a heavy animal [1] often passed the camp during the night " where the travellers lay upon their beds of fern leaves, rolled up in their blankets to keep off the mosquitoes. He draws attention to the animals that were seen, such as opossum, bandicoot, and wombat, and says that the morepork's doleful cry and the scream of the opossum occasionally disturbed them at night. He also saw many parrots, the trumpeter, and flocks of black cockatoos, and before finishing his account he acknowledges his indebtedness to Frederick and Cutts for their valuable assistance, and especially to the former for his kindness to the last remaining horse. In conclusion he adds a word of praise for the horse, the animal which has played so great a part in the exploration of almost every land. " Had I not taken the pack horses," he says, " we could not have carried sufficient to have reached that country from this part of the coast. Being able to see so much of the interior was mainly owing to these poor animals, whose lives have been lost in the service."

MR. CURR AT HIGHFIELD

To return to the settlement at Circular Head. Highfield House was at first occupied by the Company's officers. The people lived in tents and bark huts, until by degrees other homes could be built for them. This work progressed very slowly, for the valuable live stock claimed a good deal of time and attention. The climate was found very healthy, and not only did the sheep and cattle thrive but labourers from England greatly benefited also by their life in the bracing air. The workers, at the outset, were employed in burning down the fern and bracken which everywhere covered the surrounding country. Then a portion of the cleared land round the

[1] Probably the Tasmanian wolf.

settlement was ploughed up [1] and wheat was sown, which was harvested for the first time while the *Caroline* was there.

About the middle of the year 1827 Mr. Curr seems to have determined that he could best serve the interests of the Company by placing their affairs at Hobart in charge of Mr. Adey, and by taking up his residence at Circular Head. Mr. Adey's health had not been good, and possibly this may have been one reason for the change.

In August, 1827, we find Mr. Adey at Hobart and Mr. Goldie in charge of the settlement. At this time the settlers suffered privations because some of the supplies that had been sent to them were unsound. Mr. Curr writes sympathetically to Mr. Goldie: "I regret exceedingly that you should have been so long without supplies but it had arisen from circumstances which I could not control"; and he assures Mr. Goldie that he hoped soon to place the settlement beyond want. "By the *Fanny* will be sent salt meat and fifty wethers." And in the same letter, dated August 18th, he writes: "When I come to Circular Head, which I propose to do as soon as I have made the necessary arrangements for forwarding the supplies, I intend to live in the house at the Garden Plain. I contemplate bringing my family to reside there at a very early period. I shall be obliged by anything you can do to forward this object consistently with making provision for yourself and the other gentlemen."

Mr. Curr probably took up his residence permanently at Highfield House in November, 1827. His family may have arrived before him, for he does not mention them a second time. His first letter written from Circular Head at this period is dated November 20th, 1827, and in it he states: "I arrived here this day in the *Flamingo*." Here he seems to have lived with his family, still managing the Company's affairs at their different establishments until about the year 1839.

[1] By April, 1827, about one hundred acres had been broken up. A little later 160 acres were under the plough, bearing wheat and other grain crops and potatoes.

CHAPTER XIII

MR. FOSSEY'S JOURNEY: NATIVES AT WOOLNORTH

Mr. Hellyer's report of his explorations greatly pleased Mr. Curr, whom we find at Launceston in the April of 1827 issuing further orders to his officers, bidding Hellyer to turn his attention to the Emu River and survey and measure it "in order to open up a road to its entrance to the sea and to ascertain its fitness for a harbour," and on April 2nd giving instructions to Fossey: "You will set out with the least possible delay to find a practicable route to the country that Mr. Hellyer has lately discovered near the 'Peak like a Volcano.' Although I am of the opinion that the best route would be found by way of the Clyde and Shannon . . . yet, as a road through the Western Marshes is so much shorter where you have your supplies, and as but a comparatively small portion of it remains unexplored, it seems you should attempt this in the first instance." He also ordered Mr. Fossey, if possible, to reach the coast at Table Cape.

On the 6th of April Fossey left Launceston on his journey westward to the Surrey Hills; but, being seized with illness at Mount Rolland, he did not begin the most important part of his task until April 23rd. He writes to Mr. Curr: "I have left the cart at the Mersey near Rolland Mountain, having been confined there with indisposition." Richard Frederick and Isaac Cutts, the two men who had accompanied Mr. Hellyer on his last tour, were now Fossey's companions.

NEW ROUTE TO EMU BAY

Travelling through Moleside,[1] Emu Plains, and Hounslow Heath, and crossing the Mersey and the Forth Rivers in their route, they found the whole country-side, with the exception of three small marshes and the Emu Plains, entirely forest,

[1] The name of the territory on the banks of the river Mole which rises in the Western mountains and joins the Mersey.

principally of a mountainous character, where nearly every kind of timber known in the colony was seen growing. While passing through it Fossey came to the conclusion that a road for carriages, although necessarily a circuitous one, might be made there.

On Hounslow Heath, so-called from its resemblance to its namesake in England, they came very close to a body of natives, and Fossey says: "I distinctly heard their call for the assembling of their forces." Many native huts were observed, and it evidently was a native stronghold. The land here he thought would make "a good summer sheep run." On resuming their journey they struck out to the Vale of Belvoir, which name he gave to a valley bounded on the north by the Black Bluff, a mountain 3,381 feet high, and on the south by rising mounds with clear land which ran eastward towards Mount Rolland.

On May 1st, after crossing a spur of the Black Bluff that jutted southward, they ascended a mountain named May Day Mountain by Fossey, from which he obtained his first view of the lands discovered by Mr. Hellyer to the south-east, south-west, and north-west of Valentine's Peak. In the evening they encamped upon a very large plain south-east of the peak, which also in honour of the day was called May Day Plain. It possessed a fine soil and good grasses and was overrun with kangaroos. This particular plain had probably been sighted by Jorgensen in his second journey. Mount Cripps, Mount Cattley, and Mount Charter were among the names now placed on Mr. Fossey's map.[1]

On May 2nd, taking a northerly course which led them past a large extent of heath and forest, and after marking all the striking details of the land in their route (in view of the road that was to be made there), they came upon that part of the Surrey Hills through which the Leven winds to the northward and where the Van Diemen's Land Company afterwards formed their settlement of Burghley. They forded the river,

[1] Mount Cripps was named in honour of the first Deputy Governor of the Van Diemen's Land Company; Mount Cattley in honour of one of its early directors; Mount Charter in honour of the charter of the Company.

which was waist high, at a point " where it has two branches and is twenty yards wide," to the south-west of the Tor Mount.

Mr. Fossey was charmed with the picturesque country he now saw, which he thought " resembled a nobleman's domain " both in extent and quality, and particularly that part of it lying to the eastward of the River Leven, the west side being more marshy. Keeping to their northerly course and still marking the best route for a road, they passed eastward of Valentine's Peak,[1] their course leading them between the peak and the Leven, and in the forest here they again saw traces of natives, especially upon the hills called Native Track Tier. On reaching another hill named Mount Housetop they turned westward across the Blythe River and entered Green Forest, which divides the Surrey Hills from the Hampshire Hills. In Green Forest there were some immense trees both in height and girth, including myrtle, sassafras, celery-topped-pine, and stringy-bark. There were also pepper trees and grass trees with musk and dogwood growing there, the last being very difficult to penetrate.

On May 5th they reached the Hampshire Hills (of Hellyer) down which the Emu River winds in a northerly direction to the sea at Emu Bay—between Round Hill Point and Blackman Point—on the north coast. A great tract of land on the banks of the Emu River was seen to run in a line to the Dial Mountains,[2] and in soil and herbage was thought by Fossey to be very similar to the land of the Garden Plain at Circular Head. It was watered by the River Blythe.

The weather now became " exceedingly unpropitious " and during its unsettled state the explorers elected to remain encamped on the hills rather than enter a romantic-looking

[1] Mr. Fossey drew his plan of a road to the eastward of the peak through forest. In 1829, however, Mr. Hellyer found a better way on the west side, and in that year Mr. Curr in writing to the latter, says : " May I congratulate you on the discovery of the route to the Surrey Hills by the west side of the Peak. The discovery is of great value and I entirely approve of your opening it in place of Mr. Fossey's more direct line through the forest." It would seem, therefore, that the part of the road that skirted the peak on the west hand was first surveyed by Mr. Hellyer.

[2] Now called the Dial Range. It was so named by Mr. Fossey because the profile of one of its peaks exactly resembles the index of a sundial.

forest to which Fossey gave the name of Arden Forest. They caught no game here and were forced to subsist almost entirely on the meat of the kangaroo, which they cooked thickened with a little flour in order to eke out their scanty supply. To their delight on May 8th the wind veered from north-west to south, and, the day turning fine and clear, they left the hills and resumed their journey, reaching the coast at a point about seven miles to the eastward of Table Cape and between two or three miles westward from the River Cam. On Friday, May 11th, they proceeded at daybreak to the mouth of the Cam and continued to follow the coast-line eastward until they met with the Emu River on the west side of Round Hill Point, where Mr. Fossey met Mr. Hellyer.

RESULTS OF THE JOURNEYS

Mr. Curr had good reason to be satisfied with the manner in which the routes on his combined plan had been traversed both by his officers and by Jorgensen. Briefly summing up the results of their respective journeys, we find that Goldie had discovered about 62,000 acres suitable for sheep at Cape Grim and had examined the land (some 20,000 acres) at Circular Head. Jorgensen, in his first journey, had discovered a considerable tract of good country south and south-westward of the Extreme Western Bluff; in his second journey he had penetrated to "Peak like a Volcano"—having entered the Surrey Hills on the south side—and in returning had crossed the Middlesex Plains, where afterwards the Van Diemen's Land Company received a grant of 10,000 acres. In his third journey with Lorimer they had seen narrow tracts of good land on the west coast between Goldie's turning point and Pieman's River, and Lorimer had explored the banks of that river. Mr. Hellyer had discovered the Surrey Hills on the south-west side of the peak, and had examined much land in its vicinity, as well as discovering the Hampshire Hills. In these two situations the Company were granted 160,000 acres. Mr. Fossey had found good sheep-land both south-east and north of the peak, which was made known for the first

time when he was surveying "a practicable route for a road" from Launceston to Emu Bay in 1827.

Altogether there seemed plenty of land for the needs of the Company. But it was hardly possible that so large a tract of good land could be obtained in one block. After endless discussions with the Lieutenant-Governor on the one hand and the British Government on the other as to where the grant of land should be selected, and by the time the Company were weary with waiting for a settlement of their affairs, the Secretary of State proposed that the Company should choose their land either at Cape Grim or the Surrey and Hampshire Hills. It was then agreed (on May 22th, 1831), and definite arrangements were made with the Home Government by the Company, to accept the following selections on these terms:

The entire grant to the Company to be 350,000 acres and this grant to be divided into six locations—

150,000 acres	at Cape Grim[1] in one block.
150,000 acres	at the Surrey Hills in one block.
10,000 acres	at the Hampshire Hills.
10,000 acres	at the Middlesex Plains.
20,000 acres	on the peninsula of Circular Head and on the coast adjoining, extending to Duck Bay or Rocky Cape.
10,000 acres	of good land in three Islands, Robbins Island, Trefoil Island, and Walker Island.
350,000	

Eventually the Van Diemen's Land Company obtained this land, but the discussions and negotiations on various points connected with the grant continued for some time.

The Van Diemen's Land Company soon became aware of the advantages to be gained by making a settlement at Emu Bay, and during 1827 two new establishments were formed by them, one being at Emu Bay and the other at Woolnorth. To the last were sent some of the valuable fine-wooled sheep

[1] Woolnorth was the name given to the land round Cape Grim. According to Mr. Horn, it was first designated Woolnorth upon Mr. Hulyer's Map.

upon which the Van Diemen's Land Company set such store. At first Mr. Hellyer watched over the establishment at Emu Bay. In March, 1828, however, Mr. Goldie succeeded him there as superintendent and Hellyer was ordered to resume his duties as surveyor and to make every possible effort to complete the opening of the road to the Hampshire Hills from Emu Bay.

WOOLNORTH NATIVES

The establishment at Woolnorth is described by Mr. Curr as "merely a sheep station." The shepherds were placed in charge of it and the sheep sent there seemed to thrive. Around Cape Grim, however, the natives were "a powerful, fine looking race of men," who a little later showed themselves very troublesome to the shepherds. In December, 1827, they made an attack upon the company's flocks at Woolnorth. Driving the sheep into the bend of a steep cliff overhanging the sea, "spearing some and beating others to death with their waddies, they killed 118 in all." A short time elapsed, "perhaps a week or two," when they approached the hut where the shepherds, four in number, lived. The men, being well armed, were prepared for them and shot several of the natives. The rest of the tribe determined to avenge their comrades, and a short time afterwards they destroyed more sheep. On this occasion the white men surrounded and surprised them. Mr. Curr says: "The natives left six bodies on the ground during the fight." In the month of April following this encounter the Van Diemen's Land Company withdrew all their sheep from Woolnorth, for a time at least. It is probable that in writing of the conflicts between the two races Mrs. Hare refers, in her journal, to this second attack at Woolnorth. She says that twelve natives were killed, but possibly the numbers were not given to her correctly.

The Court of Directors received the news of the affray with great regret, and in their letter (November, 1828) to Mr. Curr, referring to the "rencontre with the natives near Cape Grimm," they wrote very firmly and did not hesitate to give expression to their feelings: "No doubt the shepherds

found it necessary for their own safety to act with so much vigour, but the Court regrets the loss of the lives of so many natives. . . . It trusts that no measure will be neglected which may restore peace and gradually bring the natives into a state of civilization and usefulness . . . the Court trusts that every possible effort will be used consistent with the safety of the persons on this establishment . . . to prevent the further effusion of blood."

In his dealings with the natives Mr. Curr, however, seems to have shown forbearance towards them at all times, even when they made fierce attacks upon the people or the live stock at any of the establishments of which he had charge or when in less angry mood they came "slinking through the scrub" to rob the houses and stores of the much-needed provisions or any articles that had taken their fancy. Mr. Curr was soon appointed a Commissioner of the Peace, and most strict orders were issued by him to his officers, pointing out to them the only circumstances under which they or the men would be allowed to use their firearms against the natives.

His own attitude towards them is perhaps most clearly shown in a letter [1] wherein he discusses the tribes at Circular Head and Woolnorth. He writes: "They have pilfered a little, it is true, but this I freely forgive, for it is probable they see no difference between our taking their kangaroos and their taking our flour and sugar. What ideas can such men have of property, and how are they to understand the distinction between an imperfect property as the kangaroos and a perfect one as our flour, etc.? It is probable that they think pilfering a very trifling offence: those who committed that may be far from willing to commit murder. I certainly will not sanction their being fired upon in retaliation for such an offence. If they attack our flocks again I should consider the case to be quite different. To steal what is of use to them may be consistent with their notions of amity, and I think it is, but if they should commit a wholesale slaughter of our stock it can have no other motive than our expulsion and it will justify our taking strong measures in our defence."

[1] To C. Arthur, Esqre.

In one of his letters written to forbid any reckless shooting of the natives he plainly states that he was determined that the lives of the black men should be respected in the territory under his charge not less strictly than were those of white men.

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HIGHFIELD HOUSE

(From a Drawing by Mr. Hellyer)

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARRIVAL OF THE "CAROLINE" AT CIRCULAR HEAD

On the 19th of January, 1828, when the *Caroline* rounded the Bluff and sought an anchorage at a mile and a quarter from Circular Head, her appearance created no little excitement. Her coming had been long looked for, and no doubt the inhabitants watched her enter the port with feelings of pride and pleasure. We know that the *Tranmere* had preceded her there, bringing sheep of a long-wooled English breed, and, on a later visit, others purchased in the colony, each time coming from Launceston after having touched at the southern ports of Tasmania.

But here was a ship from England direct, with emigrants and valuable Saxony sheep, making Circular Head—if we except her short stay at the Cape—her first port of call. Little wonder if she was warmly greeted. On dropping anchor, Captain Hare in due course reported his arrival to Mr. Curr, who on the following day went on board the vessel to welcome him and his passengers and to inspect the stock. Captain and Mrs. Hare then received an invitation to dine at Highfield House, which they accepted. "This was indeed a new scene," Mrs. Hare remarks on stepping ashore at the primitive jetty, and one can imagine what a strange world opened before her when she saw Highfield House and a few scattered huts upon the rocky coast, all hemmed-in by wildernesses of fern and forests of stringy-bark, while farther off stood the mountains.

In the meantime, on board the *Caroline*, as Mrs. Hare has told us, there were some who, having expected to find a town already built, viewed the shore with feelings of disappointment and disgust. Young mechanics were very irate at seeing only "tents, bark huts and huge mountains." These people, however, soon grew reconciled to their fate when on landing

they found the useful works that had been carried out, and perceived others still in progress; and, realizing that skilled workmen were much needed at the settlement, thought themselves lucky to have reached their destination safely.

Two days later (on January 21st) Mr. Curr wrote to Captain Hare as follows: "I have duly received your notification of the arrival of the ship *Caroline* on the 19th, and I am desirous of expediting the unloading as early as possible. I have, however, to inform you that Circular Head is not a port where a vessel can legally discharge until she has made an entry at Launceston, and under ordinary circumstances a vessel arriving here from any foreign port ought to make the usual port entry at the Tamar before discharging any part of her cargo here. I have, however, some time since provided myself with authority from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to land live stock and passengers, with also their personal baggage at the stores to meet the increased consumption." Mrs. Hare also says that her husband was forced to proceed to Launceston, "finding it necessary to have the ship entered ere he could land the stock." A portion of the stock, however, seems to have been landed, and some of the passengers as well, by permission of the Governor.

On the previous day, January 20th, Mr. Curr had written to Mr. Adey: "I have great pleasure in advising you of the *Caroline*'s safe arrival. The losses of stock have been forty-four sheep [which number possibly includes the two sheep taken by the pirates], one filly and the better of the two stallions. [This horse died before the ship had reached the Cape.] The stock looks very well and I shall come forward in the *Caroline* to Launceston."

The sheep had been shorn either on board the ship or immediately after they arrived, for Mr. Curr continues: "I send you samples of the wool of 20 rams and 70 ewes, of which I shall be glad if you will give me your opinion. You will find two black locks among the samples . . . the history of which is a little curious. The *Caroline* was fallen in with near the line by a Spanish pirate carrying 18 long guns and 300 men. They demanded two of the *Caroline's* rams and

sent the two black Spanish rams in their place. I suppose they can be of no use or value, but will not kill them until I have your opinion."

The pirates' sheep seem to have been none the worse for their adventures and were landed safely in Tasmania. It is hard to say what was the end of them, although we find Mr. Curr mentioning later that he had decided not to use them for breeding purposes. It would have been even more interesting to have learned the fate of the two Saxony sheep for which they were given in exchange. In demanding these sheep it is fairly clear that the pirates did not need them merely for fresh meat, and of course those who infested the Atlantic possessed strongholds in various islands and, presumably, they lived at times on shore.

The removal of the stock from the ship proved a difficult and dangerous task. The red bull Comet and the horse Comus were brought off together to the landing-place; unfortunately the horse " was so gored by the bull in the boat that he had to be destroyed within five minutes of being placed out of danger." Through the death of the remaining horse the Company again suffered a severe loss. One of the valuable sheep also was smothered while being brought from the ship to the shore.

Mr. Hutchinson, the surgeon who came out in the *Caroline*, did not remain at Circular Head, Dr. McNab being in charge there, but accompanied the newly-arrived emigrants who had been selected for the Emu Bay settlement. Frederick, Master of the *Fanny*, received orders to take them to their destination, and the captain and his wife bade the ship's doctor farewell with much regret. On the evening of January 24th Mr. Curr sailed in the *Caroline* to Launceston. Before the ship left the harbour the captain's wife went to stay at Highfield House as the guest of Mrs. Curr, where she remained during her husband's absence.

MRS. HARE AT HIGHFIELD

Since her arrival she had frequently enjoyed its hospitality, and we have read the interesting account of her visit and her

grateful acknowledgments of the kindnesses shown to her. "Many cheerful hours have I spent at Highfield House with my friend," she writes. "Many pleasant rambles we have had together with the interesting little children," and the quiet of her new surroundings must have afforded a delightful change after the unpleasantly rough passage from the Cape.

Thoroughly tired of being "tossed up and down," the bracing air of Circular Head fortified her. It is good to note with what pleasure she entered into the daily life at Highfield and how she enjoyed her walks upon the green hills "with the straggling sheep on one side and the sea at the foot," while farther off could be seen, beyond the great dark mass of rock known as the Bluff, the surging waters of Bass Strait. It is pleasing, too, to note how the Suffolk girl grew interested in all that the country produced. Upon the hills there were the birds, "the little parrots and cockatoos constantly flying about," and the bronze-winged pigeons; and in the sandy bays on the north side of the harbour there were rare shells [1] and beautiful stones among the cliffs—for all of which Circular Head is still famous. Besides these she saw many other Tasmanian curiosities new and strange to her, and collected some to take back to her friends in Ipswich.

Then, turning homeward, she would discuss with Mrs. Curr different topics connected with the settlement—the prospects of harvest now being gathered in; the customs of the Tasmanian natives; and possibly the work of the officers of the Company. Mr. Hellyer could only have been there for a short period during the *Caroline's* visit; Mr. Fossey perhaps not at all; from Mr. Goldie and Mr. White [2] she most likely received much of her information concerning the settlement. Before her coming Mr. Lorimer had left there on the journey from which he never returned, adding one more to the list of those who have laid down their lives in our colonies in the

[1] The half-caste natives of Barren and Badger Islands make ornaments from these shells. The larger pendants and necklaces of *Trigonia*. Blue and green necklaces of different species of *Elenchus* and *Margarita Tasmanica*. The curious rice shell necklaces were made from various species of *Truncatella* and the tooth shell from *Marinula pellucida*, the oat shell from species of *Columbella* and the rosary shell from *Nerita atrata*.—Just's *Tasmania*.

[2] Mr. T. H. White had been appointed an officer of the Company.

TIMMY, A TASMANIAN NATIVE OF THE EAST COAST JACK, A NATIVE OF CAPE GRIM

TYPES OF TASMANIAN NATIVES

cause of exploration. When she mentions the Government Surveyor in her journal there seems no doubt that Mrs. Hare is referring to Mr. Wedge, for on reaching the Tamar Mr. Curr wrote to Mr. Goldie on January 26th as follows: "I have just met Mr. Wedge, the Government Surveyor, who is on his way to Circular Head with instructions to examine this portion of the island in which the Company is authorised to locate its land . . . you will furnish him with supplies of his wants . . . and it is my wish that you should give him any general information that he may require." Mr. Wedge stayed at Highfield until the ship returned from Launceston, and apparently he became well acquainted with Captain Hare and his wife.

The *Caroline* arrived at Georgetown on the 25th and at Launceston on the 26th, where she remained for over three weeks. On January 28th she was duly registered; during the stay at Launceston Mr. Curr and Captain Hare were kept busily employed with matters of business. The ship's departure, registered on the 10th of February,[1] was delayed until a later date owing to a misunderstanding with the sailors, whose methods will show that labour troubles are not entirely confined to our own times. Mr. Curr writes: "The *Caroline* is very slow in her movements, the men being the masters . . . we have been detained two days by their refusing to get up the anchor on plea of being short-manned." On February 14th, the sailors becoming more amenable, the *Caroline* was able to leave the Tamar and begin her voyage to Emu Bay and Circular Head. On March 9th Captain and Mrs. Hare said good-bye to their friends at Highfield and sailed for Batavia. Violent storms, however, which met the *Caroline* in Bass Strait forced her to put back to her anchorage, and she remained in the port until March 18th, when she finally took her departure from Tasmania.

All who are interested in the beginnings of this settlement will be grateful to Mrs. Hare for the manner in which she has pictured in her journal the life at Highfield. A few pages such as she has given us—knowledge obtained first-hand and set down while the writer was still on the spot—enable us

[1] See *Lloyd's Register*.

to understand far more clearly the conditions under which the early colonists started their lives abroad than the study of many books written years after the foundations of the settlements had been laid.

Rosalie Hare's remarks are, we know, simply the impressions of a traveller who saw the country for the first time, but, nevertheless, her writings now constitute valuable records, for she saw the settlement at the time of its foundation, and it is plain that she possessed the rare gift of being able to transmit to paper the substance of what was happening around her.

PARABERI
(*By a French Artist*)

CHAPTER XV

THE TASMANIANS

In writing about the natives Mrs. Hare all unconsciously added to the history of a race that too soon became extinct. The last man, William Lanne, died in 1869 and the last woman, Truganini, survived him by only seven years. The Tasmanian race seems never to have been very numerous and probably at no time numbered more than 7,000 people.

Long before Britain thought of colonizing the island European navigators who visited its southern shores had taught the world the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The first discoverer, Abel Tasman, reported little about the natives. Early one morning in December, 1642, two boats from his ships, the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*, while searching for wood and water, entered an inlet to the north-west of the ships' anchorage.[1] Then, for the first time, Europeans gained some knowledge of the people, and the Tasmanians learned of the white men's existence. The Dutchmen heard sounds like a human voice and of a trumpet or gong; and noticed among the large trees two which had been stripped of their bark with a flint stone and had steps cut in their trunks fully five feet apart. Not knowing that they hunted the opossum, the Dutch supposed that the natives simply mounted the trees in search of birds' eggs, and from the space between the steps thought that the Tasmanians must be a very tall people, or else practised a mode of climbing trees unknown to the Dutch. Other trees were burnt at the foot, and here and there the ground formed little squares (*vuysterchen*) as hard as stone, which were the primitive fire-places of the natives.

Before the boats returned to the ships a thick smoke was

[1] The bay wherein Tasman anchored, according to the Admiralty Surveyors (see *Australia: Pilot*, vol. ii, 1918), was North Bay (i.e. Prince of Wales Bay), between Cape Frederik Hendrik and Cape Paul Lamanon, and this bay the Admiralty *Pilot* states is the original Frederik Hendrik Bay of Tasman.

observed upon the "continent" [1] to the west of the anchorage (presumably on the northern part of Forestier's Peninsula), and those on board the Dutch ships imagined that it rose from a fire made by the party on shore as a signal that they had outstayed their leave. But this was not so, for it had been kindled by the natives, and the shore party had also noticed smoke in several places around them.

It is interesting to learn that Tasman witnessed these native "smokes," which possessed such an attraction for the seamen who followed him there, and many noted them regularly in their journals. Although the smoke may have only been rising from a native camp-fire or used as a signal to other natives, it told the solitary voyager that the land was inhabited.

Marion, who came in 1772, was the next visitor. His ships—the *Mascarin* and the *Marquis de Castries*—on reaching the west coast made the land only half a degree south of Tasman's first landfall. The fires and smoke seen by day and night led the French to believe the island was thickly populated. Crozet, one of the officers in the *Mascarin*, was really the first to write with any exactness about the Tasmanians.

He tells us that Marion's people saw them, spoke to them, and fought with them, and how officers, marines, and sailors from the French ships went on shore in Marion Bay on March 4th, and were received by the inhabitants, who, having made a pile of wood, offered them lighted branches, asking them by signs to set the pile on fire. This being done, the natives appeared satisfied, and, while awaiting their commander, the French were able to study the appearance of the Tasmanians. Men, women, and children had gathered there, the smallest of the little ones being tied upon their mothers' backs with rush cords. The men were armed with "pointed staves [2] and pieces of stone with edges as sharp as an iron hatchet." Their skins were a deep black; they had small eyes, large mouths, white teeth, and woolly hair tied up behind in a "peppercorn" knot and powdered with red ochre like that

[1] Tasman thought that it formed part of New Holland.

[2] Spears which were simply one straight piece of wood hardened and sharpened at the end.

A TASMANIAN NATIVE
(After Napier)

of the Kaffirs. They were fairly well made, and in speaking seemed to draw their voices from the bottom of their throats.

In due course Marion arrived and was also offered a firebrand. Thinking the ceremony was a symbol of peace he lit a pile of wood. It was not peace but war. In an instant all was in an uproar, the blacks attacked the French with a shower of stones, wounding even Marion himself. The French soldiers fired a volley and drove their assailants into the woods. A detachment went in pursuit, but only fell in with one man who lay dying at the edge of the bush. His captors examined him and found that his skin on being washed was of a reddish tinge and his chest gashed like that of a Mozambique native.

Furneaux, who came in the *Adventure* in 1773, did not interview the natives of the south coast, but saw fires and other traces of them. Cook, who also anchored in Adventure Bay on his third voyage, gives us a good description of the inhabitants. Dr. Anderson, who accompanied him, tells us that their complexion was black, and that the women had scars raised upon their bodies like those of their husbands, from whom they differed in having their heads shaven. Some were completely shorn, others only on one side of the head, while the rest had the upper part of their heads quite bare, leaving a narrow circle of hair all round. Dr. Anderson goes on to say that they seemed mild and cheerful, though "their indifference to our gifts . . . and their want of curiosity was very remarkable," and he adds "what the poets tell us of fauns and satyrs dwelling in woods and hollow trees is here realized"; and we read that a dwarf at Adventure Bay by his droll gestures greatly amused Captain Cook. They did not seem to know the value of iron, and were more pleased with strings of beads and red cloth.

When Bligh came to an anchorage in the *Bounty* at the same place he interviewed some inhabitants of Bruni Island, and compares the noise of their chattering to the cackling of geese. He gave them presents wrapped in paper, and it was rather curious that after undoing the parcels they took out the articles and placed them on their heads in token of thanks, just as Witsen records that natives in the Gulf of Carpentaria

did with some presented to them by the old Dutch seamen many years before.

However, nearly all the Europeans who met with the Tasmanians noticed that they differed considerably from their Australian neighbours. Their woolly hair and rounded cast of countenance, their black skins and unbarbed spears, told plainly that they were distinct from the people who inhabited the shores of the continent. They belonged in fact to a negroid race, and their rude implements showed that they were yet in a palæolithic state of civilization. Whether they had reached Tasmania originally by being blown there in canoes or whether they had crossed Bass Strait upon land that was afterwards submerged either by an earthquake or some other cause, none can say. (The presence of kangaroo and other Australian animals in Tasmania favours the submergence theory.)

Dr. Anderson, who was one of the first to discuss their origin, thought that probably they came from the same stock as the natives of Northern New Holland, and one reason he gave was that "the animal called kangaroo at Endeavour River was known by the same name at Adventure Bay." [1] But doubtless the relationship—if it existed—extended back to a people of a period anterior to the time that Southern Asiatics are supposed to have made their appearance on the shores of the continent. Afterwards, when the older inhabitants of Australia had disappeared, the Tasmanians in their island became the sole representatives of that earlier race.

The French scientists, Labillardière and Péron, who came in 1792 and in 1801, the former with D'Entrecasteaux and the latter with Baudin, have left faithful and interesting pictures of the wild life of the natives. Labillardière describes the baskets plaited from a species of sea-rush (*Juncus acutus*) in which they carried their shell-fish, and their canoes formed of rolls of eucalyptus bark bound together with knittles of grass. He noticed that the huts and recesses invariably faced the north-east, and therefore conjectured that they sought shelter from the south-westerly winds. He found that the

[1] Therefore it would appear that the word kangaroo belonged to the language of the original Australian race.

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A TASMANIAN NATIVE WITH FIRE STICK AND SPEAR
(*After Duterreau*)

Tasmanians carried pieces of flint wrapped in bark of soft texture and that by striking two pieces of flint together they obtained their fire, in this differing from the Australians and South Sea Islanders; from this he also inferred that they came from another stock.

It was not strange that the woman named Mary, mentioned by Mrs. Hare, showed surprise at the sight of chairs and tables at Highfield, for Péron says that the household furniture and utensils of the natives were simple and few. A leaf of the *Fucus palmatus*, with two ends bent together and held with a small pin of wood, served as a drinking vessel, a flake of stone for a knife, and a spatula of wood seemed designed to open shell-fish.

Their cooking was neither tedious nor difficult. They could light a fire in an instant. The shell-fish they mostly favoured was the species known as the sea ear (*Haliotis*), which Bligh says was delicious. The large shells were placed on the fire where the fish was baked as in a dish. They lived principally upon lobsters and crabs, but ate many kinds of fish in addition to porcupine, wombat, opossum, and kangaroo. The native bread, which struck Mrs. Hare as very curious, was really a large truffle that grew underground like the English truffle, and possessed rather a peculiar smell. It took the shape of round balls, and the natives traced it by its minute lobe which grew close to the surface of the ground. For the rest, they wore cloaks in winter and in summer discarded their clothing; they possessed musical voices, and they believed in two spirits—a good spirit which governed the day and a bad one which ruled the night.

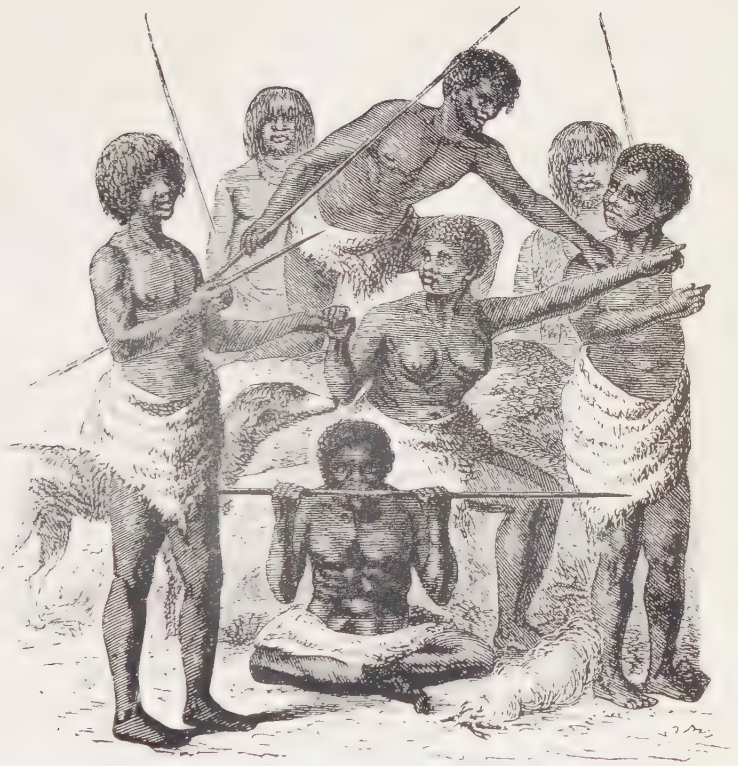
Péron learned how the Tasmanians buried their dead. On a hillock at Maria Island he saw "a pointed cone," roughly formed of sheets of bark, the ends of which were stuck in the ground while at the top they were tied together with a large bark wisp. The cone formed a four-sided pyramid, and four long strips of bark, bent and tied together, became an additional ornament, so that Péron says it had the appearance of a picturesque edifice. He removed a portion of the bark and found there a green mound over which eight small hoops were bent, their ends being held in the earth by the weight

of a large flat stone of granite. On opening the mound he soon came upon some native remains, and he remarks: "All united to convince me that I had discovered a native burial place." He first drew forth a human bone, then other remains; for the most part these were nothing but charred ashes and had been placed at the bottom of a circular hole about sixteen or eighteen inches in diameter and eight or ten inches in depth. At the foot of the hillock ran a stream of fresh water, "cool and limpid . . . whose banks were covered with several kinds of herbage, among which were species of *Orchis* and *Ophrys*, the *Richea glauca*, the *Apium prostratum*"; and Péron writes: "Among these terrific rocks . . . these venerable forests, nature had yet preserved some of her rights, since the first monument we discovered of the untutored and savage race which inhabits them, was consecrated by nature herself."

THE NORTHERN NATIVES

It will be seen that the above remarks refer chiefly to Southern Tasmania. A long interval elapsed before any information was forthcoming regarding the habits of the natives of the north coast. Flinders has told how a Tasmanian avoided him when he was surveying the Western Arm at Port Dalrymple, and how he saw others wrapped in cloaks that were evidently made of kangaroo skins. Bass, too, noticed their dwellings; he says: "Their huts, of which seven or eight were frequently found together like a little encampment, were constructed of bark torn in long strips from some neighbouring tree."

A single utensil was observed lying near the spot, this being a kind of basket made of long, wiry grass that grew along the shores of the river, and Bass writes: "Its apparent use is to bring shell-fish from the mud banks." Bass thought the Tasmanian's mode of catching the opossum was similar to that of the Australian black, excepting that the Tasmanian made use of a rope in ascending the tree, and the steps in the trees were farther apart. A rope about eight feet long, made of grass, with a knot tied in it, was found at the foot of one



A GROUP OF TASMANIANS

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notched tree. No canoes were seen by either Bass or Flinders at Port Dalrymple or at the Hunter Group, nor was there any tree-trunk seen that bore marks to show that a bark canoe had been cut from it.

On Paterson's arrival at Port Dalrymple the natives, to the number of eighty, visited his camp at Outer Cove, accompanied by a leader or chief. Everything given to them was delivered up to this person, and he received a looking-glass, two handkerchiefs, and a tomahawk. The looking-glass astonished them most. "Like a monkey," says Paterson in one of his letters, "when any of them looked into the glass they put their hand behind it to see if any one was there." They wished to carry off everything from the first hut they visited, though they retired peaceably and he had hopes of keeping on friendly terms with them. But a large party afterwards attacked a guard of marines, carried off their tent and all they could lay hands on, and, seizing the sergeant, tried to throw him over a rock into the sea. At last, in self-defence, the guard was compelled to fire, when one native was killed and another wounded.

When their astonishment at seeing white settlers arriving in their country had died away the natives deeply resented their presence there. Lieutenant Bowen came into conflict with them at Hobart, and it was only Colonel Paterson's friendly overtures that prevented their becoming a menace to the settlers at Port Dalrymple. Yet in some instances the Tasmanians were very amiable to the newcomers.

Allan Cunningham was one of a surveying party in 1819 which had a very friendly reception from natives of the west coast, whom he thus describes: "The men were all above 30 years of age, some were middle aged: their features strong and prominent, their bodies muscular, their height from 5½ to little short of 6 feet. Some wanted their incisor teeth and the bodies of all were scarified without regard to regularity of figure or character." The women were proportionately smaller, apparently turned thirty and some aged, who "present most ghastly figures." Some of these natives were quite naked, others wore short cloaks of skins round their shoulders.

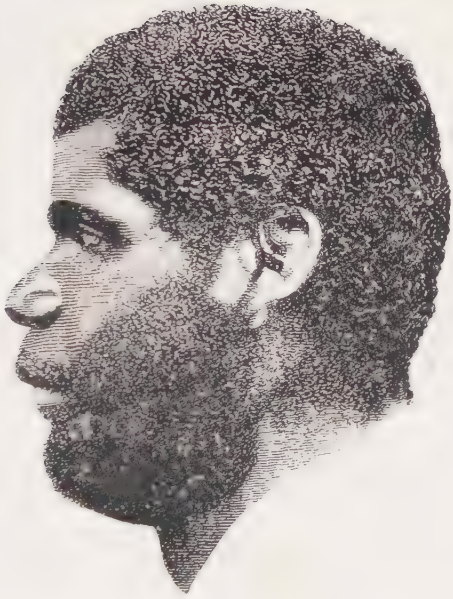
"They approached without arms . . . we could see, however, spears and wommerahs . . . trailing on the ground. They refused biscuit and threw it away after tasting it, but they wished for 'moke' or bottles—their name for a basket of bark to carry water is moke or moca." They allowed members of the *Mermaid's* party to clip their beards.

Cunningham tried to form a small vocabulary of their language, and the following words were given him by a Tasmanian who appeared "more intelligent than the rest of this West Coast tribe":

Eyes = Nammurenk.
Nose = Meoune.
Ears = Gounnek.
Teeth = Mim.
Neck = Treck.
Arms = Yirawig.
Knee = Nōne.
Hair of the Head = Pipe.
Toes = Peune.
Toe-nails = Pandit.
Kangaroo = Kagaur.
A tree = Wyruin.
Stone = Tallap.
Vessel to carry water = Moke.
Banksia australis = Tangan.
Melaleuca sp. (tea-tree) = Rone,
Acacia sp. allied to *sophoræ*. pods of which are eaten by natives = Gurweer.

From this time the story of the Tasmanians is a very sad one. Their country gradually passed from their keeping. The lands where they had roamed freely were turned into sheep and cattle pastures in the care of shepherds and stock-keepers. Where their own huts had lately stood settlers' houses were built, and they saw that they were no longer masters in the land. They rebelled, and began to give trouble to the white men by burning their huts and spearing their sheep on every possible occasion. Although some tribes were more peaceable than others and showed themselves useful to the settlers in various ways, these good relations did not last, owing chiefly to the cruelty shown the natives by the lowest classes of Europeans, such as bushrangers, escaped prisoners, and sealing gangs, who frequented the coast and who helped to extirpate many tribes.

Native women were often the cause of quarrels between the blacks and the sealers. These women were superior to



WILLIAM LANNE, THE LAST TASMANIAN MAN, GENERALLY KNOWN AS KING BILLY, WHO DIED IN 1869

the native Australian women, but Mrs. Hare has given us an insight into their character. Owing to the scarcity of labour the settlers' wives would gladly have employed them, and some did so. The native women, however, preferred to associate with the sealers. Many of the ships engaged in this trade belonged to respectable firms in Sydney or Hobart; on the other hand, there were a number of other vessels—ocean tramps or in some instances pirates outright—frequenting these waters which were manned by the most hardened desperadoes who ranged the seas from Kangaroo Island to Flinders Island, and were as dangerous in Bass Strait as ever were bushrangers on shore. From time to time they visited the mainland, robbing and pillaging the stockmen's huts and carrying off the natives.

Some historians assert that the native women of the interior stayed on the coast of their own free will because of the cruel treatment of their black husbands; but, whether this be true or not, it is certain that these women paid dearly for their unfaithfulness, as members of their own tribe would wait for them and punish them.

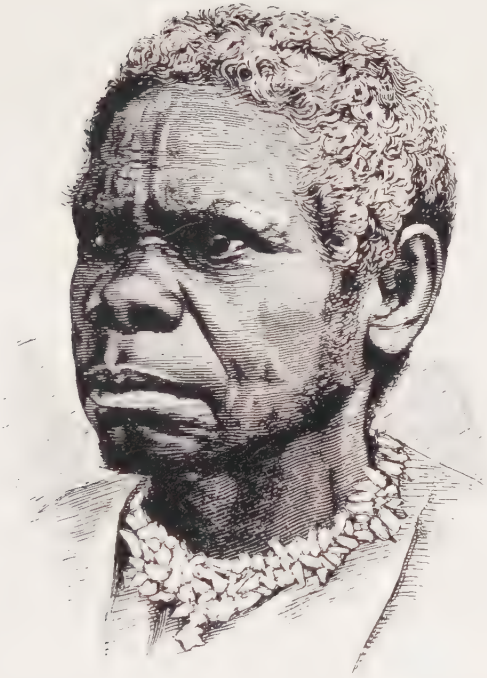
Lieutenant Jeffreys tells of a native woman who, having lived for a long time with a sealing gang, accidentally wandered inland away from the party, carrying her infant with her. She fell in with a tribe of natives who snatched the child from her arms and threw it on a camp fire. The woman showed the most desperate courage, and, rushing among her tormentors, rescued the child from the flames. She ran away with it and was pursued, but managed to evade the natives, and eventually reached Launceston. During the absence of the sealers these native women used to chant a hymn to some tutelary deity praying that the men might be brought home safely.

In their thirst for revenge for the wrongs that had overtaken them, the Tasmanians unfortunately did not discriminate between good white people and bad, and made murderous attacks upon distant and defenceless homes and farms. They became a real danger to the community, and more than once martial law was proclaimed. At last the whole country was aroused and all the military and people capable of bearing

arms formed a cordon round the natives so as to drive them in a mass to Tasman's Head, a peninsula on the south coast, where it was intended to confine them. Although great trouble and expense were incurred, the natives broke through the cordon, and escaped through the trees at night, so that when the troops reached the peninsula the Tasmanians were found to be behind and not in front of them. By the humane exertions of Mr. Robinson of Hobart, who, knowing the native language, went boldly among them at the risk of his life, the few natives that were left were persuaded to come in peacefully. They were then conveyed to Flinders Island, which was given up to them exclusively in 1835, and later they were moved from there to Oyster Bay. Such a people, however, could not flourish under restraint. Their numbers gradually dwindled, until, in 1848, only forty-five remained.

Perhaps Sir Charles Du Cane has presented us with the last and the clearest picture of the vanishing natives.[1] He says: "When I arrived in Tasmania but one male and one female survived of the entire aboriginal race . . . the man, who was a sailor known as King Billy, I never saw, but the woman, whose native title was Queen Trucaninni [Truganini] but who was better known by the more poetical name of Lalla Rookh, was a very quaint looking little old lady of over 70 years of age, under four feet in height and of much the same measure in breadth . . . She was well-cared for . . . And every now and then paid us a visit of ceremony at Government House, where she would laugh and chuckle like a child over a piece of cake and a glass of wine, and occasionally favour us with a few words in English. On one occasion she eyed me intently for some moments and then burst into a laugh like that of a Christy minstrel and said: 'This fellow he too much jacket,' meaning, I suppose, that I had become stouter than comported with her notions of vice-regal dignity. At my farewell levée she sat in great state dressed in very gaudy coloured raiment and looked and no doubt felt every inch a Queen." She died in 1876, when the Tasmanian race became totally extinct.

[1] The *Mercury*, Hobart, March 8th, 1877.



QUEEN TRUGANINI, THE LAST TASMANIAN WOMAN, WHO DIED IN 1876. THE TASMANIAN RACE THEN BECAME EXTINCT

(*From Bonwick's "The Last of the Tasmanians"*)

BOOK III

THE STORY OF JAVA

CHAPTER XVI

JAVA IN EARLY DAYS—THE PORTUGUESE

In our third chapter we attempted to trace the *Caroline's* route from Tasmania to Java from the details of the voyage given in Mrs. Hare's journal, and to show that after rounding Cape Leeuwin—the south-west extremity of Australia—Captain Hare steered a north-west course to Java Head, that ancient landmark facing the Indian Ocean at the southern entrance to the Straits of Sunda.[1]

In olden days, when the first Portuguese, English, and Dutch ships entered the Straits of Sunda, the natives came from every shore to watch them and were lost in amazement at their size and their equipment, and in modern times vessels rounding Java Head are greeted much in the same way as were those old voyagers. Light proas full of swarthy men and women dressed in the loose sarong surround the ships offering supplies of fruit, vegetables, turtle and in addition monkeys and parrots for sale. The natives, whose first salute is "*Tabi Tuan*," or "good day," are as vociferous and eager to trade and barter with passengers as were their forefathers. Nor is there any change in the exquisite scenery which is one of the chief features of the Indian Archipelago. Now, as then, in sailing along the shores, each day reveals to the voyager a panorama of sea and landscape inordinately rich in the variety of its outline, colour, and aspect.

Two and a half miles north of Java Head is First Point, and abreast of this is a conspicuous rock named the Friar, which Mrs. Hare has mentioned.

[1] In lat. 6° 45′ S., long. 105° 12′ E.

On the Java side a succession of bays indent the coast, including New Bay, Welcome Bay, Pepper Bay, and Anjer. From Anjer the island of "Dwars in den Weg," or Thwart-the-way—so-called because it seems to block the passage—lies between north and north-east, Krakatoa being to the west.

After passing out of the straits and rounding St. Nicholas Point (sometimes called Bantam Point) ships bound for Batavia skirt the north coast of Java along which the sea is dotted with innumerable islets densely wooded and navigation necessarily becomes slower. "Native proas with yellow mat sails shoot out from behind the islets but are lost to view instantly behind the green foliage of another islet, and over the tops of the trees may now and again be seen the white sails of some stately ship outward bound for Europe." [1]

Batavia, the seat of the Supreme Government of Dutch India, forms the depot for the produce of all Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago. At the time of the *Caroline*'s arrival, a great number of ships were in the harbour, and spices from the Moluccas, coffee and pepper from Celebes and Sumatra, gold dust and diamonds from Borneo, tin from Banca, and tortoiseshell, beeswax and dye-woods from Timor, Sumbawa, and other eastern islands, were being brought there —most of which seem to have found their way to Java since earliest times.

MRS. HARE AT BATAVIA

To have safely reached another halting-place on her voyage pleased Mrs. Hare, but that this place was Batavia must have greatly added to her pleasure ; for her husband was well known in the port, and most likely had often visited it when in command of a ship belonging to the East India Company. She has told us that Captain Hare immediately took her on a short visit to the country, away from the poisonous air of the Old Town of Batavia.

Mrs. Hare seems to have lost no time in studying the customs of the Javanese and in obtaining information about

[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*.

the island; and, had she not been stricken with fever, she would doubtless have presented us with a more elaborate picture of it.

She has enumerated, however, many of its natural productions, and drawn a faithful sketch of its people, of whom it has been said by one who has lived at Batavia that nothing could be more interesting than to behold this great multitude of white-, black-, brown-, and olive-coloured races dwelling in one town, each dressed after its own fashion, speaking its own language, worshipping its respective deities. Notwithstanding the dissimilarities between them excepting when a Malay with open knife or drawn dagger rushes madly through the streets with the wild cry of "Amuck" seeking to kill whomsoever he encounters, the greatest friendliness prevails, possibly owing to the commercial spirit pervading the whole place.

She has given us, too, a most interesting account of the manner in which the Dutch, recognizing all that the victory of Waterloo had meant for them, observed its anniversary. The festival on Waterloo Plain afforded her an excellent opportunity of seeing how all the different races in Java fraternized in keeping what may be called an international holiday.

To-day, when we read of Captain and Mrs. Hare's long stay in Java; of how they both contracted the prevailing fever—a malady that has claimed among its victims thousands of Europeans—and of that later and deeper sorrow which came to the young wife, we can realize that her visit to Java must have been filled with sadness: a sadness that it needed all her faith and took all her courage to withstand; and none of us will fail to rejoice that these did not desert her. Neither was her journal long forgotten or neglected, which shows how faithfully Rosalie Hare carried out her self-imposed task, although the attack of fever no doubt deprived us of many an interesting anecdote and much else. Had her health permitted it is possible she would have written the early history of the island. Her "Historical Remarks" testify that it was her aim to write not only about the Java of her own day but also

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of that earlier Java which has fascinated Europeans and all interested in the country and its people since the days of Ptolemy.

She begins the "Historical Remarks" with the story of the occupation of Batavia by the Dutch in 1618, when the native village of Jacatra fell into their hands. In the four following chapters, which it is hoped may serve as a useful sketch of Java's early days, the author has endeavoured to trace its more ancient history from works of historians who have had access to the Malay Records, and also to tell how European ships came to Java while the power of her native rulers was still supreme.

JAVA IN EARLY DAYS

Not even around the name of old Cathay lingers the flavour of more romance, the memory of more stirring scenes, or the traces of a more historic past than around that of the island of Java; and it is interesting to look back to those bygone days when the power and splendour of the East held sway there; to the days of Mojopahit's prosperity, when into Java's many harbours there came picturesquely sailing none but Asiatic ships—Arab dhows, gaudily painted junks rigged in a manner strange to European eyes, fast-sailing proas and large rowing boats (*panga joaos*), filling the ports with the chatter of many races who spoke in many different tongues, wore many fantastic styles of dress, and some of whom had voyaged from far-distant parts of Asia.

Little wonder that the first Europeans to visit Java brought back amazing tales of what they had seen in this beautiful Eastern island—tales of the dark-skinned Javanese, of the tawny Malays, of the wild Bugis, and of the oblique-eyed Mongolians, who mingled together in the ports and in the towns, dealing in pepper, nutmegs, cloves, and all the fragrant products of the Indies. For centuries these ships had entered Javanese ports with their brimming cargoes, and for centuries rich Asiatic merchants had voyaged thither to engage in their pursuits of trade and barter.

The fact that Java lay in one of the principal trade routes

by which spices were brought from the Moluccas to Europe kept it constantly beneath the gaze of both merchants and mariners, who made it into an important commercial centre. After leaving the Spice Islands the laden vessels in steering towards the south-west voyaged along the north coasts of Lombok, Bali and Java, passing its harbours, which they frequently entered, and thence skirting Sumatra, directed their course northerly towards Malacca, the most important mart for drugs and spices throughout the East.[1] At this port some of the ships discharged their cargoes ; others, continuing their way by the Great Trade Route that ran westward from China, disembarked their spices at a more distant seaport, to be carried first by caravan and again by ship to Constantinople or Alexandria for final distribution in Europe.

Chinese historians place the first coming of their countrymen to Java in the year A.D. 415, when the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien visited the island. The Chinese afterwards became the most numerous of Java's foreign inhabitants, although much later arrivals than the Hindus. The time of India's first communication with the Eastern Archipelago was probably, however, not earlier than the year A.D. 63, for Crawfurd states that no intercourse existed at that date between the Hindus and the Indian islanders. He also informs us that from the year 176 to the year 180 the clove was imported into Egypt, and therefore into India, and that Ptolemy, who wrote fifty years earlier, quoted Javanese place-names *correctly* on Hindu authority.[2] These two facts led Crawfurd to conclude that the first intercourse between India and the Eastern Archipelago began between the years 63 and 180, " probably at the beginning of the second century of our era."

" No record whatever is preserved of any early intercourse between Arabia and Java," continues the same writer, " though there can be little doubt that the richest and most civilized of the Indian Islands soon attracted the curiosity or cupidity of Arab traders." The clove and nutmeg trade, of ancient

[1] De Faria y Sousa : *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i, p. 82.
[2] Crawfurd : *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, p. 194.

origin, and the even earlier cinnamon trade,[1] between Europe and Asia, seem to have played no small part in uniting the great continents by drawing together their inhabitants in the bonds of trade and by opening up markets for various products; and the highly-prized clove became known in Rome shortly after it had been imported into Egypt. That cloves reached Europe thus early was probably due in no small measure to the daring voyages of Arab traders, who appear to have established their busy marts throughout Asia and were renowned pilots at the time of the coming of the Portuguese. The greater part of the commerce of the East had then passed into their hands. Da Gama met with them at Mozambique and Melinda—"Moors of Arabia"[2] clothed in silk and on their heads turbans wrought with silk and gold. He saw them again at Calicut,[3] where they grew jealous of the visitors and gave them trouble. Albuquerque found Arab merchants at Goa, and also at Malacca, and his successors found them in Java. It was these merchants, of all others, who must have suffered most—financially—by the arrival of the Portuguese.

The early history of Java, it is said, is lost in the fables of antiquity; yet, through the mists of ages, we can glean that the island has borne many names. The word *Jawa*—corrupted by Europeans into "Java" and pronounced "Yahva" by the natives and the Dutch—according to some writers signifies in Malay "great island;" others inform us that it was the old name for island used by Saracen sailors; another writer says that *Jawa* is the Sanskrit word *Yava* meaning barley. The Arabs and Persians called Java, *Djezeeret ool maha-radje*, or "the island of the great king." The Hindus named it *Jawa Dwipa*,[4] or Barley Island, presumably on account of the rice crops which grew there, the word barley being erroneously used to describe rice fields. Ptolemy doubtless refers to Java (or to Java and Sumatra collectively) in the following passage in his seventh book: "Iabadiu, which means Island

[1] "Cinnamon was known in the very earliest times and even black pepper, fine cottons and silk were known in . . . the Western world before we hear of the clove and nutmeg."—*Ibid.*

[2] De Faria. [3] Osorio.

[4] The word Dwipa or island literally meaning "between two waters."

of Barley—most fruitful the island is said to be and also to produce much gold; also the metropolis is said to have the name Argyre (silver) and to stand at the western end of the island" (vii, 2, 29).

The accounts of its earliest inhabitants are vague and conflicting. One Malay legend states that they came from the East and crossed to Java and Sumatra, when the straits were dry land; another legend informs us that they originally were of Tartar stock; a third story [1] that their forefathers were Egyptian exiles; and yet another that they "are descended from the unmixed race of old inhabitants of China . . ." and "on this they very much value themselves."[2]

According to Raffles, the tradition concerning the race whom the first Hindus found established in Java was as follows. They were nomadic and lived by agriculture. They worshipped the sun and the moon. They were known as Rasaksa, or Malay. In the island there has since been considerable interfusion of Hindu blood, which is apparent by the darker tint of the Javanese natives and by their finer features. Animists or sun-worshippers in prehistoric times, they were rapidly converted to Buddhism.

In trying to discover traces of the "ancient" religion of Java, Crawfurd found that "in the least civilized parts of the island as in the mountains of the Sundas and the eastern province of Banjoewangi there are a variety of images extremely rude and ill fashioned," and he tells us that these were in all probability representations of the local objects of worship among the Javanese before they adopted Hinduism. He studied the character of the superstitions which "the Hindu religion would have to encounter," and relates how "the common objects of nature were personified and the woods, water and the air were peopled with deities—the objects of fear or adoration with the Javanese." To this day their belief in local deities "is hardly diminished even after the admission of the superstitions of two foreign religions . . . the *Banaspati* are evil spirits that inhabit large trees . . . the *Barkasahan* the evil genii who inhabit the air . . . the *Dammit* are

[1] Raffles. [2] Harris.

good genii in human form—protectors of houses and villages . . . the *Wewe* are . . . gigantic females who carry off infants. The *Dadungawu* protect the wild animals of the forest and are the patrons of hunters." [1]

"It is agreed," Raffles states, "that the first Hindu to bring an expedition to Java was Aji Saka. His advent is attributed to 75 A.D." Hindu missionaries followed, and native records prove that the Buddhist creed soon afterwards flourished in Java. The Hindus left traces of their power in the ruins of their temples and monuments, which are found in Eastern and Central Java; those known as Boro-Budur and Tjandi Sewoe (Thousand Temples) being the best known, where among the sculptures there remain to this day many examples of Buddhism.

The Hindus were followed to Java by the Moslems, who seem to have frequented the coasts long before their faith was established in the island. In A.D. 1328 Arab priests attempted to win the Princes of Sunda to their creed. There is (or was in comparatively recent times) at Gresik a monument of black marble with an Arabic inscription to the memory of Mulana Ibrahim, one of the early Mohammedan missionaries, who was buried there A.D. 1408.[2]

The Mohammedans raised the Prophet's flag in Java and disputed the Hindu supremacy. Mojopahit, the "most superb" city in the Indian islands, fell before their armies A.D. 1478.[3] Their creed spread through the archipelago with great rapidity, and before the arrival of Europeans the religion of the Prophet was firmly established. Afterwards only in Bali, in the Tengger Mountains to the eastward of Surabaja, and in a few isolated parts could be found remnants of a people who followed Hindu worship.

Raffles states that it is difficult to say how soon Java became a single kingdom. He informs us that the kingdom

[1] Crawfurd's *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii, p. 230.

[2] Jukes, *Voyage of H.M.S. Fly*. Crawfurd says the date of his death was 1412.

[3] "In the 1400th year of Salivana." According to Crawfurd the capitals of the principal native states which existed in Java in the three centuries preceding its conversion to Mohammedanism were Doho, Brambanan, Madang Kamolan, Jangola, Singhasari, Pajajaran and Mojopahit

ONE OF THE GATEWAYS AT MAJAPAHIT

of the second Aji Saka was divided into four kingdoms, which later became incorporated into the Empire of Panjajaran, and this—when the dynasty of princes which reigned at Mojopahit extended its authority over the finest provinces of Java—was known later as the Empire of Mojopahit. Mojopahit lasted from 1376 or 1396 to 1478. It fell before the Mohammedans in 1478,[1] but there still remained Hindu kingdoms, most of which were broken up or converted. The first Mohammedan state of Demak [2] was afterwards merged in the Empire of Mataram—its capital, Kartasura, being not far from the site of the modern Surakarta.

THE GATEWAY OF MOJOPAHIT

The ruins of Mojopahit (or "the place of the bitter Mojo tree") are still visible in the district of Wirasaba, and from the area they occupy and the beauty of some of the ruins one can gather that it was a native city of much importance. There are, perhaps, none more interesting in the whole of Java. A modern traveller [3] who saw all that is left of this Hindu city about sixty years ago thus describes one of its gateways—a picture of which is reproduced: "On a large mound stands the ruined gateway of the city walls. The towers on each side are now about 35 feet, but from the appearance of their ruins must once have been much higher. They are built of red brick closely cemented together and are about ten feet apart. On a level with the ground are still to be seen

[1] Only nineteen years before Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Its ruling monarch at this time was Bramah-Wijaya or Bramah the Victorious—usually known as Browijoyo. Some writers give A.D. 1146 for the date of its foundation.

[2] The Mohammedan city of Demak or Damak was twelve miles from the modern Samarang. Raden Pateh was raised to sovereign authority by the voice of his followers and the seat of his Government was Damak. Three princes of this dynasty reigned there and their authority extended over a considerable portion of the east of the island during a period of sixty years. On the death of the last prince a considerable state, Pajang, arose out of it. After it had existed forty years (in about 1578) Pajang was subverted by the chief of the family of Mataram. This family now entered upon a successful career of conquest, and during the reigns of four princes subjugated the whole island, excepting Bantam. When, after the founding of Batavia, the Dutch defeated the armies of the Sultan of Mataram, the fall of this empire was precipitated.—Crawfurd.

[3] D'Almeida's *Java* (1864).

the sockets in which the pivots of the gate turned. . . . The tower to the right has on one side an upper and lower abutment, the angles being of brick and dove-tailed. Below there is a niche in which probably a figure was formerly placed. . . . The tower on the left is completely netted over by the entwined roots of a tall tree whose branches cover the gateway like an umbrella."

Even at the early period when Mojopahit was a flourishing city Java was famed not only for its spice markets, but also, as it is to-day, for its natural beauty, and the first Europeans when describing it called it "rich and beautiful." It seems always to have possessed towns of importance, as well as anchorages on the north coast conveniently situated for trade with the archipelago, which no doubt attracted the native proas from farther eastward. It seems always to have been a land of flowers and tropical fruits; of waving palms (among them the coco-nut, the sago-palm and the lontar) and dense teak forests; of verdant rice fields and picturesque native villages; and to have been the home of beautiful birds and many wild and curious animals. Its volcanoes when in eruption and earthquakes at different periods in its history have caused great loss of life among the islanders.

MARCO POLO

European travellers gradually found their way to the Far East, one of whom, Marco Polo, setting out from Venice in 1271, brought home accounts of Java. After announcing the existence of an extensive sea beyond the shores of China he stated that: "When you sail from Chiampa 1,500 miles on a course between south and south-east, you come to a great island called Java. And experienced mariners . . . say that it is the greatest island in the world and has a compass of 3,000 miles." [1] He went on to relate that it was "subject to a great king . . . the people idolaters . . . the island of surpassing wealth, producing black pepper, nutmegs,[2]

[1] Its extreme length is 570 miles, while its breadth varies from 48 to 114 miles.

[2] To Sunda Calapa, according to Linschoten, nutmegs were brought from the Moluccas by the Javanese for the convenience of the Arabs, Hindus and Mohammedans of India.

spikenard, galingale, cubebs, cloves and all other kinds of spices," and he added: "This island is also frequented by a vast amount of shipping and by merchants who buy and sell costly goods. . . . The treasure of the island . . . is past telling."

At one point Marco Polo's nomenclature led people astray, for he called Sumatra "Java Minor" and Java itself "Java Major," believing its shores extended far southward and that it formed a great southern land or continent. Cosmographers and seamen afterwards, inspired by his example, bestowed the titles of Greater and Lesser Java upon other islands, until at last, as Galvano tells us, there were many Javas upon our maps.

Polo was followed by a Franciscan monk, Odoric of Pordenone, who is supposed to have started on his travels in 1318.[1] He gave interesting information concerning Java, and stated that "the King of it hath subject to himself seven crowned kings," and that in his opinion it was "the second best of all islands that exist." He was fascinated with the king's palace (one wonders whether it stood at Tuban), of which he writes: "The King of this island hath a palace . . . truly marvellous . . . staircases broad and lofty, and steps . . . of gold and silver alternately. Likewise the pavement . . . hath one tile of gold and the other of silver, and the wall . . . is on the inside covered . . . with plates of gold on which are sculptured knights . . . which have gold circles round their heads such as we give . . . to the figures of the saints. . . . To speak briefly this palace is richer and finer than any palace in the world at this day."

In 1444 Odoric was followed in turn by Nicolo di Conti, who spent nine months in Java and describes it in similar terms. A later traveller, Ludovico di Varthema, a native of Bologna, setting out on his journey in 1503, is believed to have reached Java. He came to the island five days after leaving Borneo, and called it "the beautiful island of Giava." His visit was made in company with a Persian merchant and is the last of which we have information before the Portuguese arrived there. He tells us that the captain of the ship

[1] The authenticity of Odoric's visit to Java is disputed.

in which he voyaged used the compass and possessed a chart "marked with lines perpendicular and across." He speaks, too, of the stars which form the Southern Cross. In describing the weapons of the Javanese he mentions a tube through which they blew poisoned darts which always caused death. He and his companions stayed there fourteen days and they chartered a junk in which they sailed to Malacca.

THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to make settlements in the Indian Archipelago, and their connexion with it has extended over a longer period than that of any other European country. The story of their first coming to Java is not easily unravelled, for the records of their early voyages (apart from a few of the most important) are very scanty, some say because of the policy of secrecy adopted by those in power. It is curious that a nation so brilliantly successful at the outset, in the Indian Archipelago as elsewhere, should so soon have let their rich possessions fall from their grasp—a loss which is attributed solely to their having neglected to maintain their sea-power.

The first voyage undertaken by them that seems to have any direct bearing upon European settlement in Java was that of Diego Lopes de Sequeira, who left Lisbon (according to Osorio) [1] on the 5th of April, 1508,[2] with four ships, to sail to the island of St. Laurence (Madagascar), discovered by Ruy Pereira in 1506. In the event of the cloves and drugs mentioned by da Cunha being discovered, he was ordered to load his vessel with them and return to Portugal. If none were found he was to proceed "beyond the Ganges to Aurea Chersonese (Malacca) and examine the situation of the city of that name." [3] Among those who sailed with Sequeira in this voyage were Jeronymo Teixeira (in the ship *Santa Clara*) and Joao Nunes. While cruising along the southern part of

[1] Jerome Osorio, Bishop of Sylves, wrote *The History of the Portuguese during the reign of Emanuel* (translated by James Gibbs).

[2] Some authorities give the date differently.

[3] Osorio, vol. i, p. 279.

Madagascar on August 4th they found in a harbour some of the Portuguese who had been left there with Gomez d'Abreu.[1]

Finding no spices in Madagascar, Sequeira continued his voyage across the Indian Ocean. He met with tempestuous weather, which caused some damage to his ships and forced him to call at Cochin (on the Malabar coast), where he arrived on April 20th, 1509. Almeida, the Governor, received him very graciously, and gave him as a reinforcement a large ship with sixty men commanded by Garcia Sousa. While the ships were being repaired Sequeira obtained the services of native pilots of Cochin who knew the country for which he was bound.

PORTUGUESE CONQUEST OF MALACCA

On August 19th, 1509,[2] he left Cochin with his five ships and steered first to Sumatra, where he anchored in the port of Pedir on the north coast. From here he sailed southward to Pacem,[3] after which he coasted northward again and cast anchor in Malacca Roads, on September 11th, 1509. When he had anchored—although Osorio does not mention it—he "terrified that coast with his cannon." The alarm of the inhabitants is thus described in Malay annals: "The people of Malacca [on hearing firing] were frightened and said: 'What sound is this like thunder?' And when some of them were struck by bullets they asked: 'What is the name of this weapon which is so round . . . not sharp, yet it will kill?'"[4]

The captains of four Chinese ships in the harbour showed

[1] Osorio's translator writes the name John Gomez Abraeo. This was the chief captain of the *Luz* who arrived at Mozambique with da Cunha. On Ruy Pereira's arrival there he informed da Cunha of his discovery of the island. Da Cunha then fitted out an expedition at Mozambique to explore Madagascar and took with him among other seamen, d'Abreu. D'Abreu's ship was leading and had doubled Cape S. Maria when a storm arose and cut him off from the rest of the fleet. He sailed on and skirted the south coast of Madagascar, looking for a watering place, and at last landed in the long-boat with twenty-four of his ship's company. Again a storm prevented him returning on board, and after the weather had grown calm d'Abreu could not find his ship. He returned on shore, where he had found some friendly natives with whom he lived, but, gradually giving way to melancholy, he pined away from grief as did eight of his company. Some of his men repaired the long-boat and met with Lucas Fonseça, who conveyed them to Mozambique. Sequeira fortunately found the remainder.

[2] Harris. [3] Pasé (Sumatra). [4] Cameron's, *Malayan India*, p. 364.

Sequeira great politeness. In spite of his resounding salute the King of Malacca [1] also received him in a friendly fashion, as did the people. They possessed a tawny complexion, were very civilized in manner and mode of living, and spoke a language sweet and harmonious, and the various races that traded there "used to affect to talk it." [2] A Portuguese merchant named Ruy Araujo, who had been appointed agent, went ashore with some others from the ships, and, after he had begun to buy and sell, a trade was soon established.

The Portuguese found there some merchants "from the southern islands and countries near the Indus," who grew jealous of their success, and succeeded in poisoning the King's mind against them so thoroughly that in two months after their arrival he had made a fleet ready to make war upon the Europeans and had even fixed upon a night upon which to attack them. A Persian woman, who kept an inn at which a Portuguese tailor lodged, fortunately informed the latter of the plot brewing against his countrymen, and the tailor made it known to Sequeira. Consequently the Commander declined —on plea of sickness—an invitation to a banquet that had been sent to him and his officers by the King. (It transpired that he had planned to poison his guests during this repast.) Notwithstanding Sequeira's refusal had prevented him accomplishing his design, the King was still determined to kill the Portuguese, and now ordered their ships to be surrounded by a number of low-decked vessels filled with tempting fruits and provisions, beneath which a large quantity of weapons were to be concealed. The men placed in charge of these native craft were ordered to dress like traders and to carry arms hidden under their coats.

Tempted by the cheapness of their goods which were greatly needed by the voyagers, the Portuguese readily admitted the natives on board their vessels, until Garcia Sousa, finding so many men in his ship, grew suspicious and dispatched Ferdinand Magellan in the long-boat to warn Sequeira of the danger of their presence. Sequeira at the time was sitting on deck engrossed in a game of chess, and surrounded by eight of

[1] Mahomed Shah II, the Malayan ruler. [2] Osorio.

his visitors. On receiving the message he "was so intent on the game that what Magellan said could not divert him from his play."[1] A pilot from the topmast of his ship, however, on looking down upon the deck, saw a man standing behind him with his dagger drawn (evidently this was Patiac, the chief of Java mentioned by St. John [2]), and also saw another signalling to him not to be in a hurry.

On seeing Sequeira in so great danger the pilot called aloud from the topmast several times, and in a moment armed Portuguese thronged the deck and the Malaccans fled overboard in confusion; but, unfortunately, there were many Portuguese still in the town who could not be warned in time of the hostility of the natives. Some were murdered, others were taken prisoners. Twenty took shelter in Ruy Araujo's house, which stood close to the waterside, while Francis Serrano made his escape in a boat to the ships.

At the same time flotillas of armed proas filled with men made their appearance and surrounded the Portuguese vessels. The native craft were low and cumbrously built, and soon afterwards some of them became wedged and hampered the movements of the rest, which fortunately prevented them from doing much mischief. Sequeira, finding it impossible from the position of his ships to train his great guns upon these native vessels, ordered the cables to be cut and sailed through them to the entrance to the port, when he opened fire upon the proas and quickly dispersed them. On the following day, after collecting all the missing men that he could find, he left Malacca and made his way to Cape Comorin, whence he sailed to Europe.[3]

In 1511, Albuquerque, determined to punish the King of Malacca for his treachery to Sequeira, set sail from Cochin on the coast of Malabar on May 23rd, with nineteen ships, having on board eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indians, all of the latter being natives of Malabar. The fleet after rounding Ceylon, steered to Sumatra and came to an anchorage at Pedir. The king of this place handed over to Albuquerque

[1] Osorio, vol. i, p. 374.
[2] St. John: *The Indian Archipelago*, p. 61.
[3] "If passing visitors are excepted," says Crawfurd, "Sequeira may be regarded as the proper discoverer of the Indian Archipelago."

a Portuguese ship, on board of which were John da Veiga [1] and eight Portuguese who had been left behind at Malacca by Sequeira.

Albuquerque reached Malacca on July 1st, 1511 (according to Osorio), and at once sent a demand to the King to deliver up his countrymen. The King hesitated, stating that he could not find them, and made other excuses to gain time. But Albuquerque would brook no delay, for he had learned at Pedir that some of the captives had been ill-treated and that others were forced to embrace the Mohammedan faith. He had also been informed that a formidable native fleet was soon expected at Malacca to defend the town. Albuquerque therefore decided to begin hostilities at once, and started to burn some houses on the seashore and in the suburbs; the conflagration filled the city with terror. He likewise destroyed three ships of Cambaya. The King of Malacca was so much alarmed at these proceedings that he now delivered up Ruy Araujo and the rest of the Portuguese prisoners to Albuquerque without further parley. The latter then asked that he might be allowed to build a fortress to protect the Portuguese from future acts of violence. The King dissimulated again, and in the end Albuquerque resolved to besiege the town.

On hearing that the chief defence was a bridge, near which stood a mosque, he advanced towards it with a galley and some low-decked ships, the Portuguese attacking the defenders on the bridge from the masts of the ships. For a considerable time the fight was fierce and obstinate, though the people flew from all sides, while the enemy fired with both artillery and small arms. Having taken the bridge, the Portuguese, on the following morning, advanced on the city, and, undaunted by the various assaults made upon them by the natives, finally routed the foe, beating them back to where the King was stationed. He was seen surrounded by his officials riding in a turret on the back of an elephant. Several of these animals had been employed to stop the Portuguese advance, but ran away in fury after they had been wounded.

When he saw that the chief posts had fallen, the King

[1] Formerly a captain with da Cunha, and commander of the *Santo-Antonio*.

retired to his palace and very soon fled from Malacca. In order to complete their victory Albuquerque's officers made various new dispositions, placing guns on the roofs of houses and equipping pinnaces and long-boats with men and guns to clear the river, until at last the town was entirely deserted. At one stage Albuquerque himself was rescued from the most imminent danger; the Portuguese leader then displayed great courage, and, giving an order for the trumpets to be sounded, led his troops forward anew, eventually gaining a decisive victory, his captures including fifty guns.

There was at this time in Malacca a powerful native of Java, the Rajah Utimutis, who was transported with delight at the manner in which the victory was won, and he made Albuquerque many beautiful presents. Deputies soon arrived from different countries, all anxious to profess friendship towards the new rulers of the country. Among these was one from Java. Osorio thus writes of this visitor: "About this time another deputy arrived at Malacca from the King of Java: the presents he brought showed his master to be a warrior: they consisted of spears, kettledrums and pieces of embroidery which represented the King's warlike exploits."

On the return of this envoy to Java, Albuquerque sent presents to its king, among these being one of the elephants captured during the battle. Albuquerque then placed Rajah Utimutis over the Arabs at Malacca, but it was soon reported that he was plotting against the Portuguese, and, being found guilty, he was executed. Patiquitir, a person of great power and authority, was appointed to succeed him. He also proved untrustworthy and started a rebellion in the city, whereupon Albuquerque, growing alarmed at his boldness, attacked his army, and put him to flight. Patiquitir fled to Opi, a place not far from Malacca, which he fortified with a ditch, and a rampart, upon which he planted many guns, and there he remained with his army.

THE PORTUGUESE IN JAVA

Portuguese seamen were soon destined to voyage to Java. At the end of November, 1511 (some writers, including Barros,

give the month as December), Albuquerque dispatched Antony d'Abreu with three ships to the Spice Islands. D'Abreu was a man of great daring who had distinguished himself in the late battle. It is recorded of him that during the fury of the fight he had been shot through both cheeks by a bullet, yet he refused to quit his post or to allow any one to take his place, and subsequently he cleared the bridge. The ship in which he sailed to the Spice Islands was called the *Santa Caterina*; Francis Serrano commanded a second ship, and a sea-captain named Simon Affonso Bisagudo [1] had charge of a caravel. The factor was John Freire; the notary, Diego Borges. A junk laden with merchandise sailed with the ships, and there were on board several Javan and Malay seamen who had been accustomed to trade with Malacca. The Portuguese pilots in charge of the vessels were Gonçalo d'Oliviera, Luys Botim and Francisco Rodriguez.

Before sending the ships forth on their voyages to these unknown islands Albuquerque endeavoured to give them some assistance as far as Java, and he made terms with a Moor or Mohammedan of the name of Nakoda Ismael, who was engaged in trading in a merchant vessel [2] with Java, to prepare the way for the Portuguese fleet. (It is possible that in this merchant ship there went some Portuguese agents who landed in Java.) On leaving Malacca, d'Abreu passed through the Straits of Sabon,[3] coasted Sumatra and "some islands on the left hand which they called the Salites," entered the Strait of Banca, and it is said went to Palembang Island (Horsburgh gives no island of that name and it was, possibly, a small one at the mouth of one of the different branches of the Palembang River or else part of Sumatra [4]), and thence to the island of Lucepara at the southern entrance of the strait.

The small fleet then "sailed by the noble island of Java," ran their course eastward along its northern shores, and steered through the Strait of Madura, a difficult passage; but,

[1] Raffles: *History of Java.*
[2] Introduction to Raffles' *History of Java.*
[3] Horsburgh says they are seldom passed by European navigators.
[4] Collingridge states that the district of Palembang and other southern parts of Sumatra were believed to be separate islands.

having native seamen on board to direct them, they got through it safely. The first port in Java at which d'Abreu arrived was "Agaciam," [1] thence he sailed to Amboina. It is said that at Amboina he set up his *padroes*, or pillars of discovery and possession, as he "had done at every port at which he had touched." [2] If this was so, it looks as if d'Abreu had set up a pillar of discovery at Agaciam (or Gresik), the port being about eight miles distant from Surabaja.

The Portuguese at this time gained their knowledge of Java first hand, obtaining it either from the natives of Gresik or from those of Madura. In the story of the voyage [3] we obtain a very good but brief description of the Javanese, telling us how little value they set upon their lives in time of war, and how the women took part in their battles, and describing the national amusement of cock-fighting, when sometimes the birds were armed with spurs. In returning from the Spice Islands, d'Abreu called at many Javan ports.

Meanwhile Albuquerque, before he took his final departure from Malacca, appointed Ruy de Brito Patalim to be Governor of the city and captain of the fort which he had built; and Ferdinand Peres de Andrade was placed in charge of the shipping.

Patiquitir soon began to be troublesome again. He had strengthened his fortifications and now started to besiege the city. During the absence of Peres from the harbour of Malacca he entered it and took a Portuguese brigantine. It was then decided to attack him by land and sea, and this plan met with success. Patiquitir was defeated, and eventually he retired to the island of Java "with his family and effects." [4]

In Java there resided one Pateonuz or Patiunus,[5] a powerful chief who had been for seven years raising and building a fleet with which to invade Malacca. When the Portuguese took the town from the King he did not drop his scheme, and in due course set sail with ninety ships and 10,000 men to take the city. The Portuguese Governor of Malacca had received intelligence

[1] "Probably Gresik."—Raffles.
[2] Raffles: Introduction to *History of Java*. [3] Galvano. [4] Osorio.
[5] Crawfurd writes the name Pati Unus.

of his coming in 1513, and sent Peres with seven ships towards the Straits of Sunda to intercept him; but, by choosing a passage through the dangerous Straits of Sabon, Pateonuz evaded the Portuguese commander. On learning that the Javan fleet had slipped past him thus, Peres turned back and reached Malacca in time to engage it, and, after a desperate battle in which the enemy lost fifty-nine large junks and many smaller vessels, the Portuguese proved victorious. Pateonuz narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, his ship getting a fair wind only just in time to carry him back to Java.

Pateonuz is generally described as a chief of Japara; Osorio states that he resided there and was a man of the greatest wealth and power in the city. It would appear that he also was connected with Sidayu; for, in the introduction to Raffles' *History of Java*, we read: "Nakoda Ismael returning from the Moluccas with a cargo of nutmegs . . . was wrecked on the coast of Java near Tuban. The cargo of the Nakoda's vessel having been saved, Joam Lopez Alvrin was sent (A.D. 1513) by the Governor of Malacca with four vessels to receive it. Alvrin was well received at all the ports of Java where he touched, but particularly at Sidayu belonging to Pateh Unrug [Pateonuz],[1] a prince who had been defeated at Malacca by Fernan Peres."

Nakoda Ismael, as we have seen, had gone to Java with d'Abreu in 1511. The voyage thither in 1513, in which year his ship was wrecked, was possibly not the first he had made to that island. The name of Joham Lopez Alvrin is written in various ways: Osorio calls him John Lopez Albino, or Alvino; Danvers[2] gives his name as Joam Lopez Alvim; Raffles writes of him as Joam Lopez Alvrin. He was a Portuguese sea-captain in command of one of the ships left by Alfonso Albuquerque at Malacca, who evidently did good work as a pioneer in Java and fought under Peres in 1513 against the huge battle-fleet of Pateonuz when Martin Guedio (another captain) and he, each at the head of a party of seamen, "boarded two of the largest junks, partly killing those on

[1] Raffles: *Barros*, dec. iii, lib. v, cc. 6, 7.

[2] *The Portuguese in India*.

board and partly driving them into the sea." [1] There is no doubt that he was an officer of some standing, for in 1527 he was one of those chosen to act as a judge in the quarrel (afterwards submitted to arbitration) between Lopo Vaz and Pero Mascarenhas as to which was entitled to the Governorship of India.[2]

Alvrin seems to have played no small part in furthering the Portuguese cause in Java. Mr. Collingridge [3] asks who was this Joham Lopez: was he a pioneer sent to prepare the way for d'Abreu? Raffles, however, has already told us that Nakoda Ismael was the person sent to prepare the way for d'Abreu, although it is possible that Joham Lopez Alvrin or other Portuguese agents sailed with the Moor in his ship. In that case Alvrin was a pioneer of pioneers.

Mr. Collingridge further tells an interesting story in connexion with the Portuguese sea-captain and shows us that the place where he anchored in Java was known to Rodriguez, one of d'Abreu's pilots. Upon one of the sea-charts depicting Java and a part of Sumatra, made by this pilot, there is the following inscription in the longitude of Cheribon in 7° south latitude: "Agoada Joham Lopez D'Ollunn elle descrobio d'aqui afi Japara," which Mr. Collingridge renders thus: "Watering place of John Lopez Alvrin from which place you can discover (see) as far as Japara." [4]

Having before us the information given by Raffles that John Lopez Alvrin (or Alvim or Albino) came to Java in 1513 to salve a cargo of nutmegs by order of the Governor of Malacca, the mistake on the part of the hydrographer in writing Joham Lopez D'Ollunn for Joham Lopez Alvrin does not seem one of great consequence. He appears to have anchored either at Cheribon or Tagal. Mr. Collingridge thinks that it was the former port. In the same year d'Abreu [5] returned to Malacca from the Moluccas, and it is said that in sailing along the north

[1] Osorio, vol. ii, p. 108.
[2] Danvers, vol. ii, p. 495 (appendix).
[3] G. Collingridge: *History of the Discovery of Australia*, p. 117.
[4] Another translator renders the last part of the sentence slightly differently—"he discovered from here to Japara."
[5] De Faria gives 1513 as the date of d'Abreu's return; Galvano writes it 1512.

coast of Java he put into many ports. Doubtless it was then that Rodriguez saw Alvrin's ship at anchor near Cheribon and wrote the inscription upon his chart. Alvrin, however, sailed yet farther along the coast of Java (either before or after d'Abreu's coming to Cheribon), for the nutmegs had been wrecked near Tuban, a harbour to the eastward of Japara, then a great centre of trade.

What does seem of importance in the paragraph which we have quoted is the fact that Alvrin was well treated by the Javanese, and that Pateonuz, against whom he had fought at Malacca under Peres de Andrade, bore him personally no malice. Alvrin was received with kindness, particularly at Sidayu, which lies to the eastward of Tuban. Not far from Sidayu is Panarucan, where the Portuguese afterwards set up their "pillar of possession"; and here they made their chief settlement.

The Portuguese, therefore, from the date of Alvrin's [1] visit, seem to have traded regularly with Java. For we are told that in 1521, when Antonio de Brito with six ships "besides his own" [2] and over 300 men voyaged to the Moluccas after touching at Tuban, he was driven into the port of Agaciam, "the people of which were in friendship with the Portuguese." [3] Either Alvim or d'Abreu, therefore, seems to have fostered a friendly understanding with the people.

Agaciam stood in a fertile country and in those days was an important town. Brito was compelled to remain there seventeen days. Although the people behaved in a friendly manner to his seamen they were not so amiable at the island of Madura opposite, to which place, being famed for its excellent water, Brito had dispatched his pilot to obtain a supply. The whole of the men and the long-boat were captured by the natives, who refused to give up their prisoners until a considerable ransom had been paid, and the ruler of Agaciam also had to intercede for them. Brito was preparing to leave

[1] Doubtless this sea-captain's name was Alvim as Danvers has written it, and not Alvrin, the way it is spelled in Raffles' *History of Java*.

[2] Five of de Brito's six ships were commanded by Francisco de Brito, Jorge de Mello, Pero Botello, Lourenço Godino, and Gaspar Gallo.—Barros.

[3] Osorio.

Agaciam when Garcia Henriquez, with four vessels bound for Banda, entered the harbour.

On his way back from Ternate, in August, 1526, Brito touched at the Javanese port of Panarucan. Thence he proceeded to the town of Tagasan,[1] whose inhabitants were at war with the Portuguese and had captured a junk laden with cloves which he had dispatched to Malacca. Since they attempted to take his own ship also he quitted the place. In July Garcia Henriquez, in his return voyage from Banda, appears also to have called at Panarucan to provision his ship, and apparently the king or chief of that town sent ambassadors to the Portuguese Government at Malacca in the same year.[2]

At a still earlier date, however, the Portuguese had visited Bantam, where they found a Hindu sovereign in power. Possibly this was the king (mentioned by Crawfurd[3]), whom they met at the western end of the island on their first arrival. In the year 1522 Jorge Albuquerque, having in the interval succeeded Ruy Brito Patalim as Governor of Malacca, equipped a vessel to carry Henriquez Leme, with a competent suite and valuable presents, to Samian, King of Sunda, for the purpose of establishing a commercial intercourse with Bantam.

Leme was well received by the native ruler, who requested that, to ensure the safety of their trade, John III, King of Portugal, should erect a fortress to defend the port, for the Hindu king was then at war with the Moors or Mohammedans. The King promised if this were done to load as many ships with pepper for the Portuguese as they required in return for such merchandise as his subjects needed—and, in addition, to give the King of Portugal annually 1,000 bags of pepper from the day on which the building of the fortress should be started.

We are told that Leme chose a site for the proposed fortress at the bar of the river on the right as one enters, and at a place which the natives called Calapa. Here he set up the usual column with which the Portuguese marked the lands that they had discovered, and this event was celebrated with great

[1] Near Surabaya. [2] Barros, dec. iv, lib. i, cap. 17.
[3] *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii, pp. 339, 497.

feasting and rejoicing by both the Portuguese and the natives. According to Couto, the port at which Leme landed was Bintam (Bantam). But Barros [1] states that Leme chose the site of the fortress at Calapa, which, according to Houtman's historian who came there in 1596, was another native name for Jacatra. If this is correct the Portuguese would appear to have chosen as the spot whereon to build their fortress, the very site upon which Batavia now stands. Leme returned to Malacca, where he was graciously received, and the result of his visit was communicated to the King of Portugal.

Leme had also seen something of the inland country. He visited the principal city of the kingdom of Java, which was called Daro and was situated towards the interior. He stated that when he saw the town it had upwards of 50,000 inhabitants, and the kingdom had upwards of 100,000 fighting men. The soil was rich and an inferior gold of six carats was reported to be found there. There was obtainable plenty of butcher's meat as well as game, tamarinds, and an abundance of other provisions. The inhabitants "were mostly addicted to idolatry. They were fond of rich arms ornamented with gold and inlaid work. Their krises were gilt, as were the points of their lances. The kingdom descended from father to son." [2]

In due course Francisco de Sá was commanded by the King of Portugal to build a fortress in Java for King Samian, and sailed from Portugal for India in 1524. On arriving there Francisco de Sá was dispatched to Bantam with six vessels to carry out his royal master's orders. The vessels composing his fleet consisted of two galleons commanded by Francisco de Sá and Jorge Tello de Menezes; a galley commanded by Diogo de Sá; a galiot; a caravel commanded by Francisco Mendes de Vasconcellos; and a "bargantine" commanded by Duarte Coelho. On his arrival at Bantam, Francisco de Sá found the town in possession of the Mohammedans, who had taken it from the native Hindu sovereign.

For the time being, therefore, all idea of making a settlement at Bantam had to be abandoned. On leaving there the Portuguese fleet was overtaken by a terrific storm and one of the

[1] Barros, dec. iv, lib. vii, cap. 13. [2] Raffles.

ships commanded by Duarte Coelho reached the port of Calapa (or Jacatra) where the fort was to have been built. Calapa was then in the possession of the Moor Faletehem, who was now master of the country, having captured the town, only a few days previously, from its Hindu defenders; and the vessel being driven on shore, all her crew perished at the hands of the Moors.[1]

Francisco de Sá with the rest of his fleet ran before the storm along the coast of Java and put into the harbour of Panarucan where he collected his ships. In spite of the hostility shown to them by the Moors, the Portuguese continued to keep up an intercourse with the island, and their ships frequently touched at Java while voyaging to the Spice Islands.

JAVA OR SUNDA

It is now necessary to explain why in the Portuguese records we find Java so often spoken of as Sunda. Raffles, taking his information from Barros, tells us that Java was then looked upon, at least by the natives of Sunda, as two islands "extending from E. to W. and nearly in the same parallel in 7° and 8° S., one being called Sunda, the other Java." [2]

"The natives of Sunda considered that they were separated from Java by a river called Chiamo, or Chenan, so that the natives in dissecting Java speak of it as separated by this river Chiamo from the Island of Sunda on the West and on the East by a strait from the Island of Bali as having Madura on the North, and on the South, *an undiscovered sea*; and they think that whoever shall proceed beyond those straits will be carried away by strong currents." [3] This information explains why the Portuguese historians so often apply the name of Sunda to Java. Camoens called it so. But the use of the name of Sunda for Java is confusing, nevertheless, and some writers describe the whole of the island by this name.

The good work carried out by Portuguese seamen seems to have borne fruit in Java (or Sunda) in spite of the many

[1] Couto, dec. iv, lib. iii, cap. 1.
[2] The Javanese themselves, however, regarded Java as one island.
[3] Raffles: Introduction to the *History of Java*.

set-backs that they had met with. In 1528 Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Governor of Portuguese India at that date, sent Dom Martin de Mello Jusarte to endeavour to further the Portuguese trading interests in Sunda, and four years later his efforts were crowned with success. Nuno da Cunha then concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Java, under which the island was made over to Dom John III, King of Portugal.

The document which throws most light upon the Portuguese occupation of Java is preserved, we are told,[1] in the archives at Lisbon and runs as follows :

" Be it known to all that on the 27th January, 1532, in the island of Sunda at the port of Agasim, Dom Joao III, King of Portugal, by his duly appointed representatives contracted with the Sabandar of the place and Ai Talapo, the Captain Abidola, besides other chiefs and merchants of Agasim, a treaty of peace and thereupon sailed to the port of Panaruca where they erected a stone memorial on which were carved the royal arms of Portugal as a remembrance of the discovery of that island by the subjects of the King of Portugal, three crosses being also placed close to it ; the stone memorial with the royal arms being a token of the King of Portugal's acquisition of all rights, possession, and seigniorage over the whole island of Sunda. The said representatives of the King of Portugal then sailed to the islands of Timor and the islands of Banda . . . There they concluded treaties of peace and commerce with the inhabitants . . . The representatives of the King of Portugal left on the island of Sunda as a testimony of friendship two flags, one with the cross of Christus and the other with the emblem of Hope."

For over sixty years the Portuguese remained the predominant power in Java.

[1] *Corpo Chronologico*, Part I, maco 48, Doc. 47. See Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, vol. i, p. 412.

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THE GOLDEN HIND
(*From the Molyneux Globe*, 1592)

CHAPTER XVII

THE ENGLISH IN JAVA: DRAKE AND CAVENDISH

It could hardly be supposed that the islands whose markets supplied the Portuguese with so many rich spices would long remain unsought by the rest of the world. Before the close of the sixteenth century English and Dutch ships made their appearance in the Archipelago. The ports of Java were visited, and the Portuguese made aware that they could no longer keep the spice trade in their own hands.

Drake and Cavendish were the first to show their countrymen the way into the harbours of Java, and Englishmen then began to mingle with the inhabitants, obtaining wood and water, revictualling their ships and gaining information respecting the extent and wealth of the islands of the Archipelago.

Drake had lately come from Ternate, where he had made a treaty with the native sovereign, which gave to England a monopoly of the spice trade in that country. Thence he made his way to Java and, we are told, put into some port "on the south coast." On Hondius's map (in Hakluyt)[1] his track appears to fall in with the coast in the neighbourhood of Winecoopers' Bay at the south-west end of the island, and the Molyneux Globe also shows that he anchored in the same locality; but the Journal [2] gives the latitude from a spot in the "middle" of the island.

In the previous chapter we have tried to show how the Portuguese seamen first came to Java and the routes they traversed in their voyages thither. We will now endeavour to describe the manner in which the English found their way to

[1] Drake's *Circumnavigation* (Hakluyt's English Voyages, Extra Series, vol. xi).

[2] *The World Encompassed* (W. S. W. Vaux), containing the narrative of Sir Francis Drake, Bart., compiled from the notes of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition (Hakluyt Society Series). Drake's original narrative was given to Queen Elizabeth and is said to have been lost.

the island, and wherever possible trace the course steered by the great seaman, Drake, on his voyage from Ternate to Java.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

On the 9th of November, 1579, Francis Drake left Ternate, having voyaged thither across the Pacific. In South America he had sacked towns and earned for himself the title of the "English Corsair." In North America he had taken possession of territory in the name of Elizabeth, his queen, and had called it New Albion.

He was well received at Ternate; but he experienced anxiety before leaving because his ship the *Golden Hind* [1] had "growne fowle," and his first care on putting to sea was to find an island where she might be trimmed and where he could repair his water-casks with iron hoops undisturbed. In a calm wind the ship made her way south-westward, and on November 14th, we are told, reached a little island situated "to the southward of the Celebes." (The latitude, 1° 40′ S., given in the journal will show that this island was south of the two northernmost peninsulas of the Celebes.) It was uninhabited, and here Drake cast anchor and found all that he needed save water; but, the spot being convenient and water obtainable at an island farther southward, he decided to remain there and carry out his plans. On landing, strong entrenchments were thrown up around the tents by the sailors, for it was feared that the inhabitants of a greater island not far to the westward might attack them. Stores were brought ashore, a smith's forge set up, and, in addition to cleaning the ship and repairing the water-casks, some of the crew started to burn charcoal, the supplies of coal having run out.

The air of this island proved very beneficial. The weak and sickly men were wonderfully refreshed, and within a short space of time "grew all of us to be strong, lusty and healthful persons. Besides this we had the rare experience of God's

[1] The ship was previously called the *Pelican*. On the 20th of August, 1578, on reaching the Strait of Magellan—at the Cape, forming the entrance—Drake rechristened her the *Golden Hind*.

wonderful wisdome in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw." [1]

The whole island was a " through growne wood," the trees were large and high, very straight and clean, and without boughs save at the top, their leaves " not unlike our broomes in England." Swarms of fireflies, no bigger than an ordinary fly, illumined the trees at night, so that even the twigs looked to be lighted up " as if the place had been a starry sphere." There were other curious denizens of the air. Huge bats (flying foxes)[2] flew about with marvellous swiftness and hung head downwards from the limbs of the trees. Land crabs were numerous. Gigantic crayfish provided good and nourishing food, " one being sufficient for four hungry men." The crabs worked themselves into the earth, burrowing like " conies " (these were most likely the kind known as the King Crab of the Moluccas, which at certain seasons frequents the land). So numerous were these crabs that Drake named this island Crab Island.[3]

Having finished the work in hand and taken on board sufficient wood and water, Drake waited in readiness to sail with the first favourable wind, and on December 12th, after a sojourn of twenty-six days at Crab Island, he " weighed and set sail to runne for the Molucos." The wind being against the ship, with much difficulty he " recovered to the northward of the Island of Celebes " and endeavoured to secure a passage in that direction; but, " by reason of contrary winds, not able to continue our course to runne westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous . . . by reason of infinite shoalds . . . among the islands." [4]

[1] *The World Encompassed* (Hakluyt), p. 149, W. S. W. Vaux.

[2] Probably the Great Kalong (*Pteropus edulis*), which ranges the Eastern Archipelago and is found in the Philippines.

[3] In the " Short Abstract " of the voyage (*The World Encompassed*, p. 184), the writer states that Drake left behind him at this island two negroes and a negress, and that he called the isle " Ile Francisca, after the name of one of the two negroes." We are not told of this, however, in the main narrative. In Harl. MS. 280, f. 81, the island is again mentioned, thus: " Francisca alias ye Ile of Crabs " (*The World Encompassed*, p. 177).

[4] Evidently part of the story has been omitted in *The World Encompassed*. In *English Voyages* (Hakluyt Series), p. 129, the writer states it was their

DRAKE'S SHIP IN DANGER

Drake apparently sighted Celebes "on the 16th day" and met with the unfavourable wind, the many islands and the "deep bay" [1] (out of which he could not turn in three days), all of which prevented him "recovering the north of Celebes" for any distance or continuing "to runne westwards." When he turned southward he found the path "also . . . very hard and dangerous," insomuch that during the whole passage from England there never had been such need to exercise caution; and he was forced to beat up and down the shoals looking for a way through them until January 9th, when he believed that he had found a free passage, "the lands in sight" [2] having "turned about" to westward.[3] He soon learned that he had been deceived, for while steering at full sail the ship suddenly ran on a "desperate shoal" [4] and remained fast, and those on board realized that in all probability they would lose their lives.

The journal [5] continues: "The unexpectedness of so extreme a danger roused us up to looke about us . . . but the ghastly appearance of instant death . . . called upon us . . . to commend ourselves into the merciful hands of our most Gracious God. To this purpose we fell prostrate and . . . humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy to us in His Sonne Christ Jesus, and so preparing as it were our neckes unto the blocke we euery minute expected the final stroke."

As soon as prayers were ended Drake showed his men a fine example of how to bestir themselves. The pumps were set to work and the ship freed of water. The leak had evidently not increased; which gave them hope of respite and

intention "to runne to the Molucos." From this account, too, it would appear that Drake at first thought of sailing along the north coast of Celebes, possibly with an intention of making his way through the Celebes Sea and the Strait of Macassar to Java, but eventually was forced to take the more southerly passage through the Molucca Sea.

[1] The "deep bay" apparently was the Gulf of Tomini, or Gorontalo, between the two northern peninsulas of Eastern Celebes.

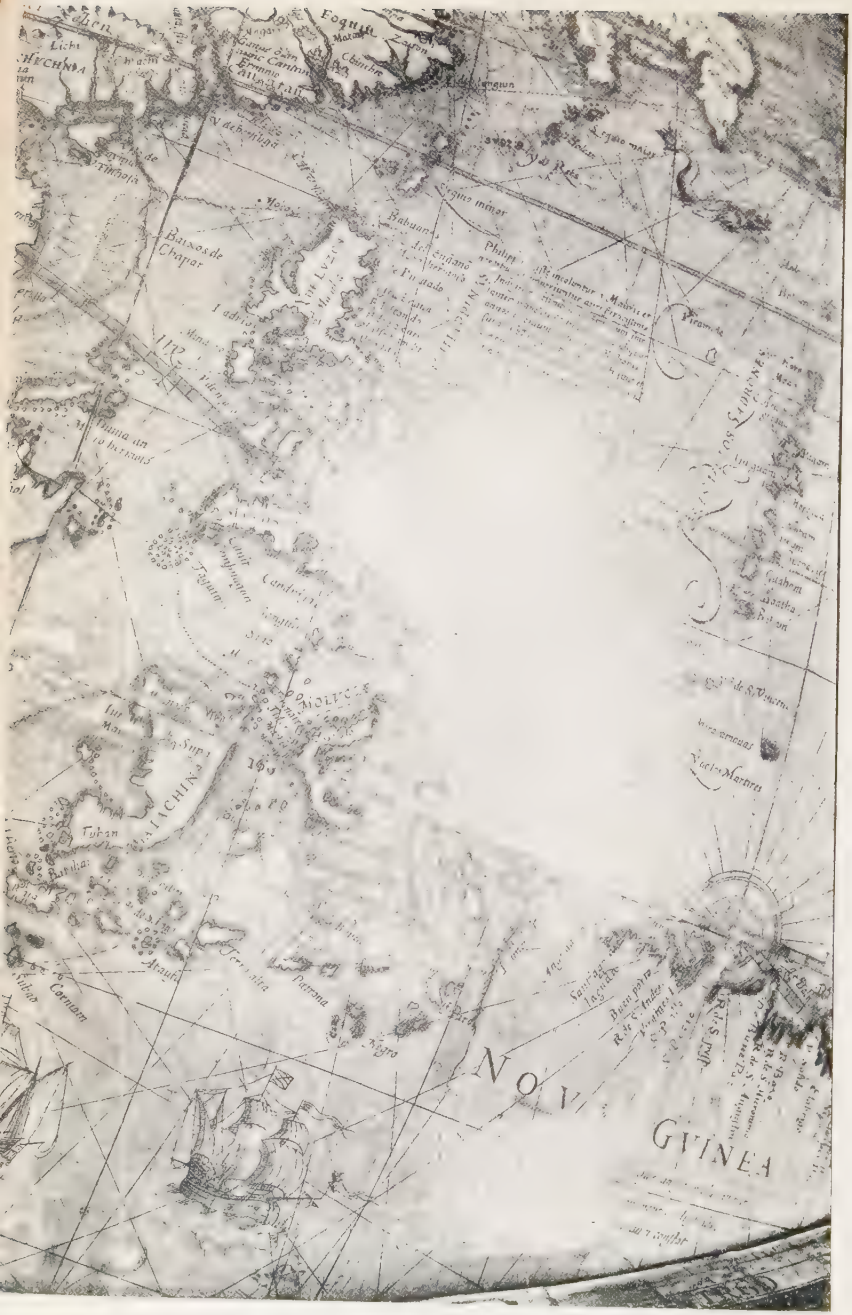
[2] The "lands in sight" which fell away to westward most likely were the shores of the second peninsula of Eastern Celebes.

[3] The shoals are thought to have been those of the Banggai Archipelago.

[4] According to Corbett, this shoal corresponds to the Mulapatia Reef.

[5] *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, W. S. W. Vaux (Hakluyt Society Series), p. 151.

DRAKE'S AND CAVENDISH'S TRACKS THROUGH THE INDIAN
(*From the Mol*



RCHIPELAGO. THE BROKEN LINE SHOWS DRAKE'S COURSE
yneux Globe)

testified that the hull of the vessel was sound. "Our next essay was for good ground and anchorhold to seaward whereon to hale [haul]." Again Drake took charge, but the soundings proved that even at a boat's length off the vessel no line would touch the bottom. The situation seemed hopeless. It was clearly seen that the ship was "laid so fast on the hard and pinching rocks" that she could not stir. And it necessarily followed that either they must all remain in their perilous position in the ship or seek another place of refuge. "And whither (had we departed from her) should we have received any comfort?" asked the narrator of this voyage. "Our boat was by no means able at once to carry above 20 persons with any safety and we were 58 in all,—the nearest land [1] was six leagues from us and the winde from the shoare directly beat against us; or, should we have thought of setting some ashoare and after that to have fetched the rest, there being no place thereabouts without inhabitants, the first that had landed must first have fallen into the hands of the enemie, and so the rest in order, and though perhaps we might escape the sword yet would our life have beene worse than death not alone in respect of our wofull captivity and bodily miseries but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being deprived of all publique means of seruing the true God and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and diuellish idolatries of the heathen."

Daylight appeared and with it a high sea. Thanks being returned for their preservation during the night, "we again renewed our trauell to see if we could . . . find any anchorhold." The second attempt also proved fruitless. It was therefore determined by general voice "to commend our case to God alone, leaving ourselves wholly in His hand to spill or saue [save] us as seems best to His Gracious Wisdome. And that our faith might be the better strengthened . . . we had a sermon and the Sacrament."

The men then set to work—as seamen in similar plight usually do—to lighten the ship by casting some of the cargo into the sea. Overboard went three tons of cloves.

[1] Presumably the mainland of Celebes.

Overboard went eight guns with a quantity of meal and beans. Soon afterwards "the winde (as it were in a moment, by the special grace of God) changing from the starreboard to the larboard of the ship, we hoised our sails and the happy gale drove our ship off the rock into the sea againe to the no little comfort of our hearts, for which we gave God such prayse and thanks as so great benefit required." [1]

Or, as the other account [2] runs: "the place whereon we sate so fast was a firme rock in a cleft . . . we struck on the larboard side . . . the brize during the whole time that we thus were stayed blew somewhat stiff directly against our broadside and so perforce kept the ship upright. It pleased God . . . to slacke the stiffeness of the wind; and now our ship . . . wanting her prop on the other side . . . fell a heeling towards the deepe water and by that meanes freed her keele and made us glad men.

"But when all was done it was not any of our endeavours but God's onely Hand that wrought our deliuerie: twas He alone that brought us even under the very stroake of death: 'twas He alone that said unto us, Returne again ye sones of men: 'twas He alone that set us at liberty againe, that made us safe and free after that we had remained in the former miserable condition the full space of twentie houres: to His Glorious Name be the euerlasting praise."

The day of Drake's deliverance was January 10th, 1580. The shoal upon which the *Golden Hind* had struck lay in 2° S., lacking three or four minutes, and it was three or four leagues in length. Of all the dangers met with during the voyage we are told that this was the greatest. But it was not the last. The ship could not for a long season get free of these shoals; "Nor," continues the writer of the narrative, "could we ever come to any convenient anchoring but were continually for the most part tost amongst the many islands and shoales (which lye in infinite number round about on the south part of Celebes) till the eight day of the following moneth." [3]

[1] *English Voyages* (Hakluyt). [2] *The World Encompassed.*
[3] *The World Encompassed*, p. 156. The eighth day of the following month

THE SHOALS OF CELEBES

On January 12th anchors were cast upon a shoal in 3° 30′.[1] On January 14th the ship had "gotten a little farther south, where at an island in 4° 6′ [2] we again cast anchor and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this we met with foule weather, westerly winds and dangerous shoales for many days together, insomuch that we were utterly weary of this coast of Sillebis and thought best to beare with Timor.[3] The southernmost cape of Sillebis stands in 5 deg. that side the line."[4]

The narrative continues: "But of this coast of Sillebis we could not so easily clear ourselves.[5] The 20th of January wee were forced to runne with a small island not far from thence, whence hauing sent our boate a good distance from us to search out a place where we might anchor, wee were suddenly environed with no small extremities for there arose a most

would be the 8th of February, so it will be perceived that from this time forward the ship was beating her way among islands and shoals *around the south part of Celebes for twenty-nine days.*

[1] There are several shoals off the east coast of Celebes in this latitude. From Pulo Dua there extends for forty-five miles east and south-east a broad chain of dangerous reefs and islands.

[2] It is important at this stage to try to identify some of Drake's landmarks. Wowoni Island is in 4° 6′ S., and according to *Admiralty Sailing Directions* possesses safe anchorages. In coming from the northward Drake could have anchored either on the north-east, north, or north-west coast of Wowoni, for it certainly seems that this was the island in 4° 6′ S. where he obtained wood and water; he could also have found a passage through Wowoni Strait. It seems probable that his anchorage was on the north side of the island and not far from the mainland. Wowoni Strait divides Wowoni from Celebes, and is fifteen miles in length and about four broad, but the eastern side of the strait is so studded with dangerous reefs and shoals that only a narrow passage near the western shore is available for navigation.

[3] Although Drake may have intended to steer to Timor, he did not yet leave the coast of Celebes, and the "foule weather, westerly winds and dangerous shoales" evidently delayed him.

[4] Drake, as the next sentence proceeds to show, had not yet reached the southernmost point of Celebes, and the narrator may have merely quoted the above information from a Portuguese chart.

[5] After leaving the anchorage in 4° 6′ S., Drake does not appear to have sailed eastward of the island, and to have tried for a way to the open sea in that direction. He appears, on the contrary, to have continued to skirt the difficult coast of Celebes and beat his way southward through the shoals. His voyage at this point reminds us of that of Cook in 1770, when in a similar situation he was entangled among shoals off Cape Bedford, Eastern Australia, for a week.

violent, yea an intolerable flaw and storme out of the south-west against us, making us (who were on a lee shoare among most dangerous and hidden shoales) to fear extremely not only for the losse of our boats and men but the present losse of ourselves, our ship and goods or the casting of those men whom God should spare into the hands of Infidels."

Fortunately the boat was able to return safely to the ship. It would seem that those on board had seen natives on shore and that the storm overtook the *Golden Hind* while she was within sight of the mainland.[1]

The *Golden Hind* now left the "lee shoare" and the "most dangerous and hidden shoales" and, after leaving them, she was again delayed by very strong winds from the west and west-south-west.

"We gate off from this place as well as we could,[2] and continued on our course till 26 day [January 26] when the wind took us very strong against us, west and west-south-west so as we could make no more sail till the end of that month was full expired."[3]

[1] Exactly how far Drake skirted Celebes we cannot say. He may even have ventured through the eastern entrance of Tioro Strait before he met the storm which perhaps drove him back to the northward. At any rate the shoals in this strait best answer to the description of those which, according to the journal, "lye in infinite number round about the south part of Celebes," and which formed such a formidable obstacle in Drake's path.

[2] The journal tells us fairly clearly where the *Golden Hind* first fell in with the shores of Celebes, but we get no inkling of where she left them beyond that she drew away from the "lee shoare" and the "most dangerous and hidden shoales."

[3] In order to reach the southernmost part of Celebes after leaving the island in 4° 6′ S., at least three routes were open to Drake by which he could have continued to advance southward on his voyage. The first and innermost passage was by Tioro Strait between Celebes and Muna Island; the second by Bouton Strait between Muna and Bouton Islands; the third by sailing down the east coast of Bouton and passing through Bouton Passage between Bouton Island and the Tukang Bessi Islands—the easiest and least dangerous passage of the three. But the extracts of the voyage with which we have been furnished are in themselves too meagre to indicate with certainty by which route he reached his next anchorage. We can only follow the narrative and try to mark the ship's path. It is clear that Drake went by one of these three routes. If through Tioro Strait his passage would have been greatly obstructed with shoals and islands. If through Bouton Strait, the way would have been less difficult, although the strait is sixty-six miles in length, in some parts six to ten miles wide, and the shores contract in two places—at the North and South Narrows. If he sailed to the eastward of Bouton, although the entire coast is fronted by a more or less broad coast-reef with fairly frequent openings, his path would have been still easier,

At this stage the journal gives little information as to the direction taken by the ship.[1]

The story proceeds: "February 1 we saw very high land [2] and, as it seemed well inhabited, we would faine have borne with it to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill that we could find no harbour and we were very fearfull of adventuring ourselves too far among the many dangers which were neere the shoare.[3] The third day also we saw a little island but being unable to beare any saile but only to lie at hull we were by the storme carried away and could not fetch it."

There is a break in the journal at this point, so that we are again left for a time without any details of the passage. Three days later the narrative resumes: "February 6th we saw five islands, one of them towards the east and foure towards the west of us, one bigger than another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor and the next day watered and wooded.[4]

and he would then have had to pass through Bouton Passage between the south-east coast of Bouton and the Tukang Bessi Islands (groups of coral islets upon the same reef), which path would bring him south of Bouton.

[1] Drake, of course, may have spent some of the time unrecorded in investigating the different routes open to him.

[2] "The east coast of Bouton is mountainous almost through its entire length, one conical summit south of Tanjong Lakansai in lat. 4° 29′ S., 123° 09′ E. long., is very conspicuous from north to south when under the coast."—*Admiralty Sailing Directions.*

[3] Possibly the dangers were those of the barrier reef which fronts Bouton's east coast.

[4] During these three days upon which no remarks were recorded the ship might have sailed some distance. We do not think that in the interval she traversed Tioro Strait *throughout*, or we should now expect to find her approaching Kabaena, the westwardmost of the islands at the foot of Eastern Celebes, nor does Drake seem to have gone through Bouton Strait or else he would doubtless, ere this, have refreshed his ship. (In 1768 Bougainville was surrounded by native boats immediately he got into the strait.) Drake possibly took the outer route and sailed down Bouton's east coast, and after going through Bouton Passage worked his way towards the southern entrance of Bouton Strait. At the end of this passage he could have seen "five islands, one towards the east and foure towards the west of us, one bigger than another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor." Bouton is the easternmost and biggest; and the others may have looked "one bigger than another." To the westward of Bouton lie Muna, Kabaena, Kadatua, Siumpu, and some much smaller islands. Those which we have named would best answer to the description of the "foure towards the west," although there would be a great gap in point of size between Kabaena and the smaller islands of Kadatua and Siumpu. A glance at the Admiralty chart will show that the chief islands round the southern part of Eastern Celebes are the islands of this group. The coral islets called the Tukang Bessi Islands, separated from the others by Bouton Passage, extend farther to the south-eastward.

BARATIVA—WAS IT BOUTON?

"After we had gone on hence on February 8th we descried two canowes who having descried us, as it seemes before—came willingly unto us and talked with us alluring and conducting us to their town not farre off named Barativa, it stands in 7 deg. 13 min. South the line." [1]

Barativa then on this day, February 8th, was the ship's anchorage.

Bearing in mind the clear statement of the journal, which says the ship could not get free of danger but "was continually for the most part tost amongst the many islands and shoales (which lye . . . round about on the south part of Celebes) till the 8th day of the following moneth"—that is to say, until the 8th day of February, *the day that the vessel anchored at Barativa*—we realize that Drake's anchorage, if not at Bouton, must have been in its near neighbourhood.

In *New Light on Drake* we read of the ship's arrival at Barativa as follows: "They . . . navigated between many islands and shallows until they reached an island . . . thickly populated with Indians and called by them Barrativa. There they procured many native fruits. There were a number of Indians there. . . . Here they spent eight days. The said island lies in five deg. south. Leaving the islands behind them they sailed to seven deg. to the back of the island of Great Java." [2]

Therefore, if we accept John Drake's statement that "the said island lies in five degrees south," [3] it yields yet stronger

[1] It should be easily identified if the latitude given in *The World Encompassed* did not carry our search into waters farther southward, where Drake presumably would have had no difficulty in getting clear of the shoals. There also are islands in these more southern waters, as, for instance, Bonératé and Kaloa (which lie nearly in the latitude where Drake's anchorage is said to have been), but they do not in the least resemble the description of Barativa, and one would feel it hopeless to attempt to identify this island had not John Drake's account of the voyage placed the anchorage in five degrees south instead of in 7° 13′.

[2] John Drake's Second Declaration in *New Light on Drake: (John Drake of the "Golden Hind")*.—Hakluyt Series, vol. xxxiv, p. 54.

[3] "Booton an island . . . lying off the south eastern extremity of Celebes in about the fifth degree of South latitude."—Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*.

evidence to support the theory that Bouton Town within Bouton Strait was the spot where Drake anchored.

The journal gives the following interesting account of the inhabitants of Barativa: "The people are Gentiles, of handsome body and comely stature, of civill demeanour, very just in dealing and courteous to strangers, of all which we had evident proofs, they showing themselves most glad of our coming and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants with whatsoever their country could afford. The men all goe naked save their heads and middle, every one having one thing or other hanging at his eares. Their women are couered from the middle to the foote, wearing upon their naked armes bracelets, and that in no small number, some having nine at least upon each arme made for the most part of horne or brasse whereof the lightest by our estimation weigh 2 ounces.

"With this people linnen cloth (whereof they make roles for their heads and girdles to weare about the loynes) is the best marchandise and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with Margaretas [1] (which in their language they call Saleta) and such other trifles. Their island is both rich and fruitful; rich in gold, silver, copper, tinne,[2] sulphur, etc. Neither are they only expert to try those mettalls but very skillfull also in working of them artificially into diverse forms and shapes as pleaseth them best. Their fruites are diverse likewise and plentifull, as nutmegges, ginger, long pepper, limons, cucumbers, cocoes, figoes, sagu, with diverse other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity in bignesse forme and lustre much like a bay-berry, hard in substance but pleasant in taste, which being sod becometh soft and is most profitable and nourishing meate; of each of these wee received of them whatsoever wee desired for our need insomuch that (such was God's Gratious goodnesse to us) the old proverbe was verified with us: 'After a storme commeth a calme, after warre peace, after scarcity followed plenty'; so that in all our voyage (Terrenate only excepted)

[1] Pearls.

[2] According to Wallace, Celebes produces gold as well as iron, tin, and copper in small quantities.

from our departure out of our owne country hitherto we found not anywhere greater comfort and refreshing than we did at this time in this place. In refreshing and furnishing ourselves here we spent 2 days [1] and departed hence February 10th." [2]

It will be seen that Drake's sailors obtained bread-fruit at Barativa, and we read that among the tropical trees grown in Bouton there is an abundance of the wild bread-fruit.[3] Although the produce is said to be indigestible, it may be a species of the fruit with a husk that "being sod becometh soft and is most profitable and nourishing meate" was eaten by the English. For Drake's sailors even found penguin's flesh "good and wholesome victual."

THE DEPARTURE FROM BARATIVA

Drake left Barativa on February 10th, according to the journal,[4] and presumably made his way across the Flores Sea. In the words of one who took part in the voyage, "we set our course for Java Major." [5]

On the morning of February 12th the journal continues: "We espied a greene iland to the southward; not long after

[1] John Drake states eight days.

[2] In endeavouring to trace a likeness between the inhabitants of Bouton and those of Barativa described in the journal, we must admit the resemblance is not sufficiently striking to identify them as the same people. In some respects, however, the description of the former, given by Bougainville when he visited Bouton in 1768, agrees pretty well with parts of the journal, and therefore we quote the following extract from the remarks of the French navigator, after he had entered Bouton Strait: "A great many periaguas with outriggers surrounded the ships: the Indians brought us fowls, eggs, bananas, parrokeets and cockatoos. . . . They cultivate rice, maize, potatoes, yams and other roots. . . . Here are likewise abundance of cocoa-nuts, citrons, mangle-apples and ananas or pineapples. All the people are very tawny, of a short statue and ugly. Their language—the same as that of the Molucca isles—is the Malay, and their religion the Mohametan. They seem to have a great experience in their trade but are gentle and honest." Doubtless some dried nutmegs that were picked up in a bag on the shore by the French were gathered from trees that had escaped the vigilance of the Dutch Extirpator who, as is well known, at this time was sent annually to Bouton to inspect the woods and destroy the spice trees, the Dutch having decided that these trees should be allowed to grow only at Banda."

[3] Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, vol. i, p. 276.

[4] The declaration of John Drake places the date six days later.

[5] Presumably Francis Pretty: *The Famous Voyage of Sir F. Drake* (Hakluyt, 1589).

two other islands on the same side and a great one more towards the North ; they seemed all to be well inhabited but we had neither need or desire to goe to visit them and so we past by them."

From the bare details given to us it is impossible to say in which direction Drake steered. That those on board " espied a greene iland to the southward " tells us little, for most of the islands in this sea are green. The green island in the neighbourhood of the southern Tukang Bessis, called by Horsburgh and Arrowsmith Greenwood Island, may have been the island referred to, but there is really nothing in the text to show that it was the island seen by Drake.

The English commander, however, does not appear to have sailed westward (possibly the winds in this quarter were still against him), nor to have passed through the Strait of Saleyer,[1] which " is the chief highway between the Moluccas and Java " [2] and the direct route to the different passages between the islands eastward of Java, which lead from the Eastern Archipelago into the Indian Ocean.

If Drake had steered to the south-westward [3] from the south of Eastern Celebes doubtless he would have caught sight of Saleyer Island and might have regarded it as " a great one more towards the North." In this quarter there is a number of low coral islets called the Tiger Islands and some larger islands, the four principal being Tana Jampea, Kajuadi, Kaloa, and Bonérate : the last (as we have already stated) is in 7° 22′—almost the latitude given by the journal for Barativa. These four islands (from the Dutch account of them) appear to be covered with stones, chalk, and coral, and in some places are densely wooded.[4] While they seem to be the only islands " south of the Celebes " situated in a latitude

[1] The Strait of Saleyer is between Cape Lassa (on the western part of Celebes) and Saleyer Island.

[2] *Admiralty Sailing Directions.*

[3] Horsburgh's *East India Directory*, vol. ii, p. 466, states that there is a passage east of Saleyer Island to the straits.

[4] The exports of Bonérate consist of wood, fish, rubber, wax ; the imports of rice, oil, salt, coffee, copper, and other metalware. Iron, gold, and silver are *not* to be found there.—*Tydeschrift voor de Indische Taal : Land en Volkenkunde*, Part ix, p. 215.

corresponding with that given in the journal for Barativa, they resemble Drake's anchorage in no other respect, and give us reason to believe that John Drake's statement regarding its latitude is correct.

Or Drake may have sailed to the south-eastward, possibly having the wind in his favour and believing that in this direction he would find the easiest way out of the archipelago. But, whichever his direction, we at least know that he soon came face to face with a wall of islands and rocks, divided by navigable passages, which extends in one long line from Java's east coast to beyond Timor and forms the southern boundary of the Indian Archipelago. The question is, therefore, by which of these navigable passages did the *Golden Hind* enter the southern Indian Ocean?

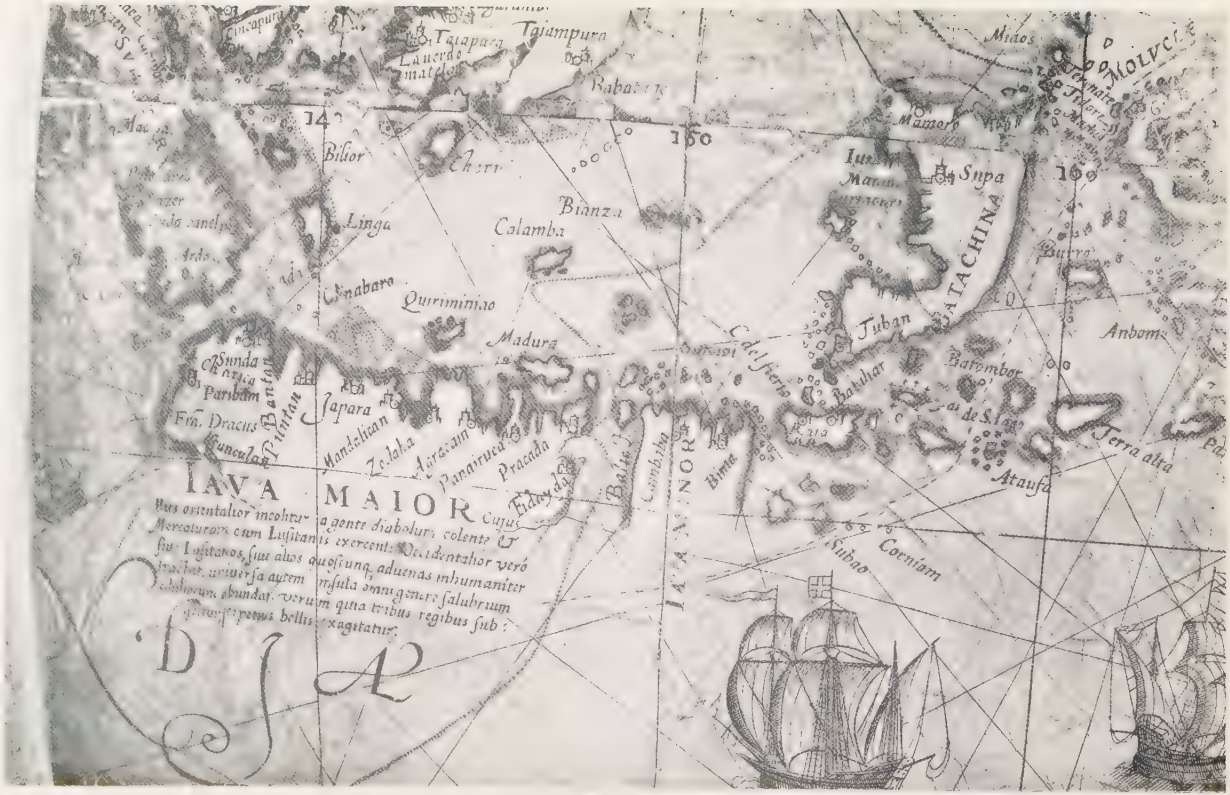
PROBLEM OF DRAKE'S ROUTE

Towards the centre of the wall is seen in many old maps a large island marked Batuliar, which (according to Mercator) was presumably ancient Flores.[1] To the westward of Flores the Straits of Bali, Lombok, Allas, Sapeh, and Mangerai divide the islands between Java and Flores. While to the eastward the chief navigable passages are Flores Strait, Alor Strait, Pantar Strait, and Ombai Passage.

Through one of the breaks in the southern boundary wall of the archipelago Drake must have passed to reach Java's south coast. Of the ship's approach to the strait the journal gives very few details. We read of her coming thus: "The 14 day wee saw some other reasonable bigge ilands and February 16 wee past between foure or five bigge ilands more which lay in the height 9 deg. 40 Min."

These brief remarks are all that remain to us by which to

[1] In Mercator's Mappamundi of 1569, which seems to be one of the first maps to show the islands east of Java with any degree of authenticity, several islands are placed in their situations under names by which they are known. They include Bali (Lombok is conspicuously absent), Cambeba (otherwise Sumbawa), Sumba (or Sandalwood Island), and the island of Batuliar (or Flores). The latter is easily recognizable, for a cape on the north side of it is inscribed Cape Flores (where Flores Head now appears in modern maps), and the island on the west side may well answer to Komodo.



DRAKE'S TRACK FROM TERNATE TO JAVA. THE BROKEN LINE SHOWS DRAKE'S COURSE
(*From the Molyneux Globe*)

identify the *Golden Hind*'s passage into the Indian Ocean. Yet their brevity has some compensations, for the haze of uncertainty which surrounds the course of the ship at this stage only serves to heighten the interest of those who would endeavour to trace her progress. Neither can we gain a great deal of information respecting Drake's route if we turn from the journal to the early maps and globes; for the islands through which he steered on his way to Java either are charted erroneously upon them or else do not appear at all. It is also disappointing to find that two of the most reliable whereon the *Golden Hind's* track is shown—the Molyneux Globe in the Library of the Middle Temple and the Hondius Map, *circa* 1595—do not agree as to the direction of the course steered by Drake.

The globe was drawn by Emery Molyneux, who it is said accompanied Cavendish in his voyage round the world. Hondius engraved the gores for this globe in 1592, and its main features—apart from the information it gives concerning Drake—will show that, in making it, Molyneux depended largely upon Portuguese or Dutch sources: many of the islands bearing the familiar titles by which they were known in earlier maps. Drake's track on the globe, after leaving Ternate, crosses the Banda Sea and runs parallel with the east coast of Celebes. Across Celebes itself is written the name Batachina, which has probably given rise to the legend that Drake called at Batchan, leading some writers to suppose that his anchorage at Barativa was not in the neighbourhood of the Celebes.[1] The words of the journal, however, are our surest guide as to the route steered by Drake through these seas. On the globe the islands at the foot of Celebes are absent from their true situation, and one wonders whether the larger ones farther southward—one of which bears the name of Batomber—may not have been intended by the cosmographer to represent

[1] "Molyneux seemed to think Barativa was part of Celebes," writes Corbett, "for on the southern part of the island he writes Batachina; but he did not even know Drake had been to the Philippines, and the course he marks must be rejected as of small authority." A close study of the journal, nevertheless, shows more clearly than the globe that Barativa was in the neighbourhood of Celebes.

Bouton and Muna. The old cosmographers were apt to make mistakes of this kind.

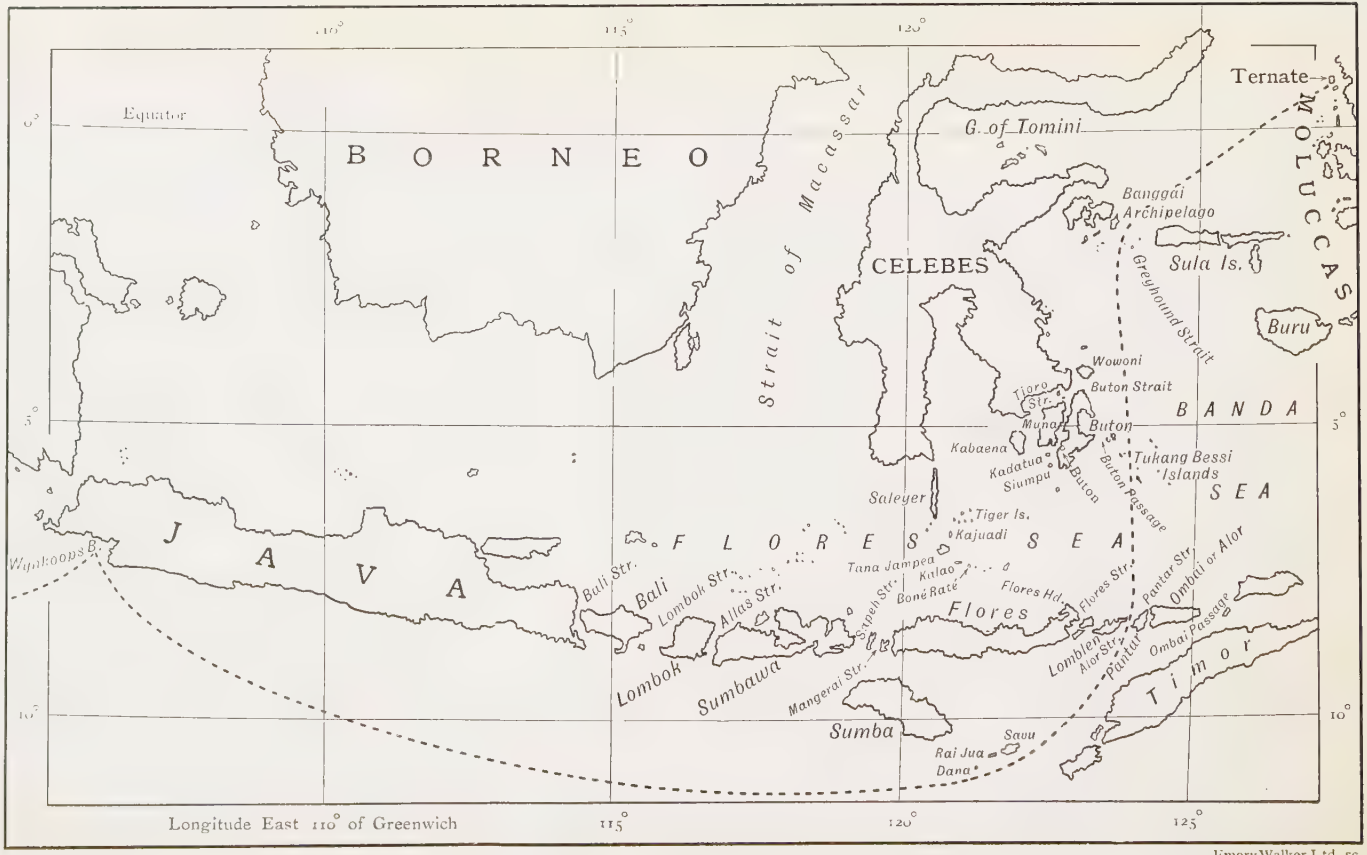
In continuing to follow Drake's advance southward on the globe, we see that after passing Batomber he entered a small archipelago called Isles de Sant Iago. Whether these small isles are the Tukang Bessis, also misplaced, being charted too far southward, or are intended to represent islands in the straits of Pantar or Alor it is impossible to say; for the passage in the wall of islands through which Drake passed—according to Molyneux—was either Pantar or Alor Strait.

The islands in Alor Strait might possibly answer to the journal's description of "bigge" islands in that at least they are high. "The high island Batang—846 feet," says the *Admiralty Pilot*, "and the high mountains in the north-east part of the Lomblen, make Alor Strait easily recognized from the northward." Lapang in the northern entrance of the strait, is low; but Rusa, in the middle of it, is 1,119 feet; Marisa, high and flat on the top, is 633 feet; and Kambing, farther south, 322 feet. "Alor Strait," writes the same authority, "appears to be entirely clear but . . . has few anchorages."

After leaving the strait the ship's track turns to the south-westward, passing below Batuliar (or Flores Island) and yet farther in the same direction through the Sawu Islands and southward again of Subao (or Sumba Island), whence, skirting Java's south coast—which is hidden under a long Latin inscription—it finally enters a port at the south-west end of Java. Here the name "Fra[s] Dracus" is printed above the name of the port wherein he anchored, which is called Junculan[1] —the native name evidently for the settlement visited by Drake and his comrades.

On the map of Hondius (reproduced in the Hakluyt Society's publications describing Drake's voyage) the *Golden Hind's* track, as we have already said, takes a different direction. After leaving Ternate, while the ship was steering southward,

[1] Junculan or Junculum (as it is sometimes written in the old maps) lies slightly to the north-eastward of Wynkoops Bay. The name seems to have disappeared from modern maps, although it may be seen in Thomson's Map of the East Indies, 1815, and others of that period.



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

DRAKE'S TRACK AS LAID DOWN ON THE MOLYNEUX GLOBE

1586 184

Drake

Memorandum, Die Jovis quarto die Augusti. Anno dni. 1586., Annoque Regni dne Elizabethe Regine xxviijo Franciscus Drake Miles, unus de Consortio Medij Templi, post navigationem anno preterito susceptam et Omnipotentis Dei beneficio prospere partam Accessit tempore Prandij in Aulam Medij Templi, ac Recognovit Johanni Savile armigero tunc lectori, Matheo Dale, Thome Bowyer, Jhoi Agmondesham et Thome Hanham magistris de Banco et alijs ibm presentibus, antiquam familiaritatem et amicitiam cum Consortio generosorum medij Templi predict. Omnibus de Consortio predicto tunc in Aula presentibus cum magno gaudio ei unanimiter gratulantibus reditum suum faelicem.

Jo: Savile lect.
1586
Matheo Dale

Thome Bowyer
Jhon, Agmondesham

Tho. Hanham

LATIN ENTRY FROM THE MINUTE BOOK IN THE MIDDLE TEMPLE LIBRARY

a wider space of sea intervenes between the east coast of Celebes and the line marking the ship's path. Drake is seen to have called at two islands in the Banda Sea—neither of which could have been Bouton—and then, turning to the south-westward, to have passed *north* of Batuliar insula (Flores). It is plain, therefore, that his ship, according to this map of Hondius, sailed into the Indian Ocean through one of the straits between Java and Flores.

Hondius, like Molyneux, depicts Drake's coming to the south-west end of Java, and shows that his port of anchorage was in the neighbourhood of Wynkoops (or Winecooper's) Bay in lat. 6° 59′ S., long. 106° 33′ E. But from a comparison of the details given on both globe and map it would seem that Molyneux may have had at his disposal material relating to the voyage [1] which Hondius either overlooked or did not see fit to include in his own map. The fact that Drake was intimately connected with the Middle Temple, that his membership of that Society dated probably from the days of his youth, that the table in the Hall is said to have been carved out of the timbers of the *Golden Hind*, and that he visited and was entertained by the Benchers in 1586 on his return from the West Indies, when he referred to his association with the Middle Temple as "ancient and intimate,"[2] leads

[1] Probably supplied to him by John Davis or others of the English collaborators.

[2] "On Thursday, the 4th day of August, Anno Domini 1586 and the 28th year of the Reign of the Lady Elizabeth Queen, Sir Francis Drake Knt., one of the Company of the Middle Temple [*Unus de Consortio Medii Templi*] after the voyage successfully completed under the blessing of Almighty God, upon which he had set out the year before, came at the time of dinner into the Hall of the Middle Temple and acknowledged [*recognovit*] to John Savile Esq., then Reader, Matthew Dale, Thomas Bowyer, John Agmondesham and Thomas Hanham, Masters of the Bench and others there present, his old time intimacy and friendship [*antiquam familiaritatem et amicitiam*] with the Company of the Gentlemen of the Middle Temple aforesaid. All of the said Company then present in the Hall congratulating him with one accord and great joy upon his happy return" [*cum magno gaudio et unanimiter gratulantibus reditum suum felicem*].—Translated from the Latin entry in the Middle Temple Minute Bk. D. folio 184, Anno 1586.

The author is indebted for the above translation and extracts to Mr. J. Bruce Williamson, a Master of the Bench of the Middle Temple, to whom her most cordial thanks are due. She also desires, here, to express her gratitude to the Treasurer and the Librarian of the Middle Temple for their courtesy in permitting her to reproduce a portion of Drake's track from the Molyneux Globe, as well as the Latin entry in the Minute Book. The episode

one to believe that the Middle Temple would have taken every means to preserve to us a genuine relic of the great seaman, and especially of his supreme achievement—the Circumnavigation of the Globe.

The journal thus describes the continuation of the voyage to Java after Drake had passed through the strait. "The 18th we cast anchor under a little iland [1] whence we departed again the day following: we wooded here but other relief except two turtles we received none. The 22nd day we lost sight of three ilands on our starboard side which lay in 10° and some odde minutes. After this we past on to the westward, without stay or anything to be taken notice of till the 9th of March when in the morning we espied land some part thereof very high in 8° 21′ south latitude. Here we anchored that night and next day weighed againe and bearing farther north and nearer shore we came to anchor the second time."

Drake had reached Java at last.

DRAKE LANDS IN JAVA

One would like to be able to tell of Drake's coming to Java at length. To say at what time he entered the port where his ship dropped anchor, and the many small details which appeal to us so strongly when we read them in the voyages of other great English seamen, would be interesting. But in Drake's case they are withheld from us. We have told how both Molyneux and Hondius show that Drake entered a port which apparently was Winecooper's Bay in lat. 6° 59′ S., long. 106° 33′ E.

The journal, however, contains the rather curious statement: "This iland we found to be the Iland Jaua the middle whereof stands in 7 deg. 30 min. beyond the Equator." It is possible that Drake made this observation in coasting the south of Java on his way to the south-west end; but on the other hand the statement meets the eye in a paragraph which

recorded therein is so little known that our readers doubtless will find the accompanying illustration of the entry interesting.

[1] Probably Dana or New Island, eighteen miles south of Rai Iua, one of the Sawu Group, where no fresh water is obtainable.

describes the presents sent to the King by Drake on his arrival and the "victuals" that were returned "in way of recompense" to the English visitors by the native sovereign; and the remark seems to have been placed there in order that we might know where these gifts were exchanged. One cannot, therefore, pass by the observation without comment.

If Drake's anchorage was situated towards the "middle" or centre of the island "in 7 deg. 30 min. beyond the Equator," it is important to try to identify it. Pachitan Bay might perhaps be called the anchorage nearest to the centre of the island. It lies in lat. 8° 17′ S., long. 111° 03′ E., but Chilachap in lat. 7° 44′ S., long. 109° 01′ E., best agrees with the latitude given in the journal. Although it lies rather more to the westward, it is towards the centre of the island. *Admiralty Sailing Directions* states that Chilachap "affords the best anchorage on the whole of the south coast of Java. Vessels lie here in perfect safety during both monsoons."

In the small sketch of Drake's anchorage in Java Major, which appears in one corner of the Hondius Map, his ship is not depicted lying in an open bay, but as it were in a river or canal which is so narrow that it looks but little wider than the full length of the vessel. Houses are seen on either bank. So that in whatever harbour the *Golden Hind* entered it would seem to have been one into which a river fell—a river large enough to have afforded an anchorage for the ship. "Several streams enter Wynkoops Bay, but the only one of importance is Chi Mandiri, of considerable breadth but the bar at its mouth on which there are heavy breakers greatly impedes navigation." [1]

In Chilachap Inlet the Chi Donan, we are told, "affords safe anchorage." [2] There are rivers, too, in Schilpadden Bay, farther eastward, and from the mouth of the Chi Seraju, within it, is a canal which connects with the Chi Donan, although at certain seasons this bay affords no safe anchorage. Altogether Chilachap Inlet (apart from the fact that the stream falling into it bears the name of Drake's rajah who was "the chiefe king of the whole land") might best answer to the place

[1] *Admiralty Sailing Directions: Eastern Pilot.* [2] *Ibid.*

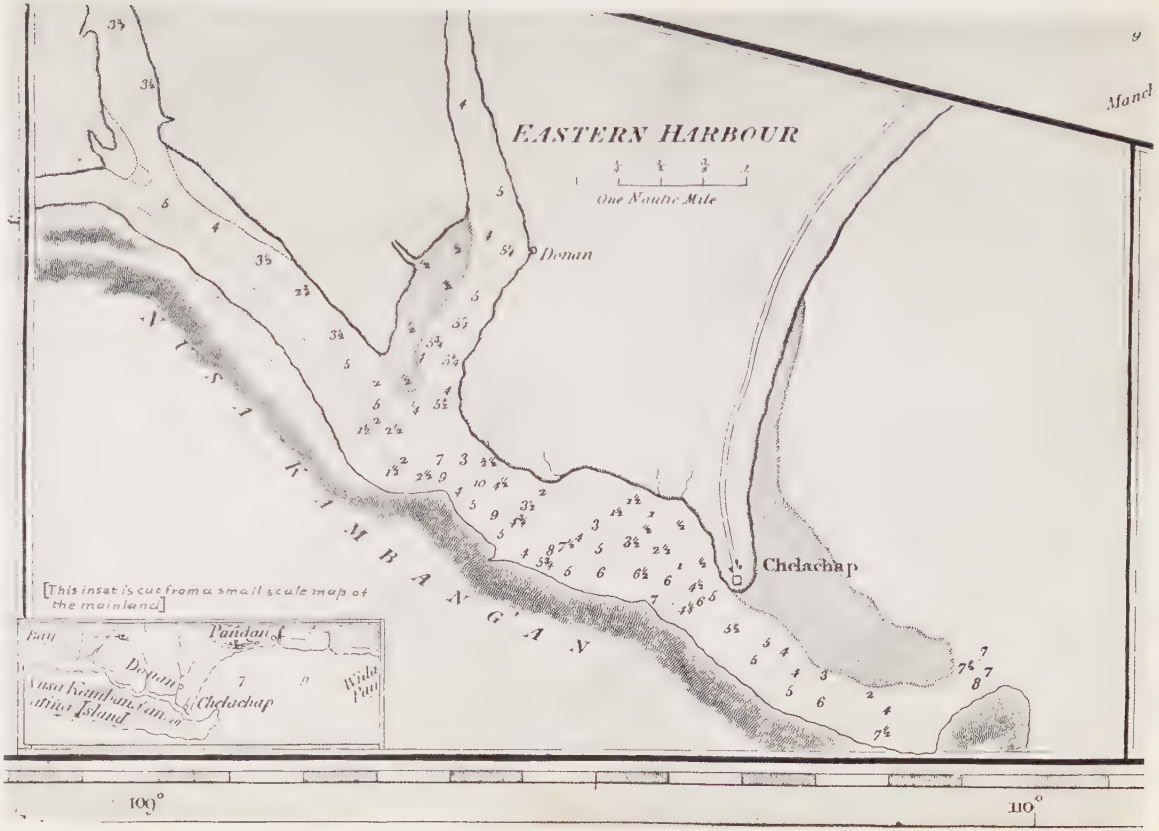
in 7° 30′ S. where Drake anchored, if we read the journal aright.

But the Molyneux Globe of 1592 has given Junculan for Drake's anchorage—Junculan, which must have been situated in nearer 6° 30′ than 7° 30′ S., and whose river has a bar entrance. And, in spite of the difference in latitude, in spite of the Chi Donan's more convenient anchorage, and the occasional discrepancies between the journal and the globe, it would seem that Molyneux had stated the name of Francis Drake's port of call in Java correctly; for Molyneux was a cosmographer, and he lived in the days of Drake.[1]

The following account of the ship's arrival is taken from the journal: "The eleventh of March we first took in water and after sent out boats againe to shoare where we had traffique with the people of the country; whereupon the same day we brought our ship more neere the town, and, having settled ourselves there that night the next day our General sent his man ashoare to present the king with certain cloth, both linnen and woolen, besides some silks which hee gladly and thankfully received and returned rice, cocoes, hennes and other victuals by way of recompense. This iland we found to be the Iland of Jaua, the middle whereof stands in 7° 30′, beyond the Equator."

Drake landed in Java on March 13th. Taking on shore with him "many of his gentlemen and others," he paid a visit to the King, "of whom he was joyfully and louingly received," and he "presented him with his musicke," which we may suppose to mean that he took his bandsmen with him. He had brought with him on this voyage expert musicians, and one wonders what quaint airs were then played for the Rajah's edification, and if they consisted of martial music or English melodies. He next showed the King the manner in which his seamen were drilled, "training his men with their

[1] Perhaps nothing testifies so strongly to the knowledge that Molyneux possessed of Drake's voyage than the filling-in of this place-name. Drake was alive when it was written upon the globe, and no cosmographer would have risked his reputation by stating inaccurately on a work of such importance the name of the port in Java where England's most famous seaman had anchored.



CHELACHAP HARBOUR

(From Raffles' History of Java)

pikes and other weapons . . . before him." The writer of the journal adds: "For the present we were entertained as we desired and at last dismissed with a promise of more victuals to bee shortly sent us." So that evidently the favours distributed were mutual.

The English found that Java was governed by several petty princes or rajahs under one chief or head, and that they lived together on terms of great friendliness. On the 15th three of them came on board to view the ship and inspect her armament. They also were well pleased with their entertainment, and reported to their king all the wonders they had seen; and on the following day the Rajah Donan, "the chiefe king of the whole land," paid a visit to the *Golden Hind*. Afterwards, few days passed without some chiefs coming on board. Their names, which soon became familiar to every one in the ship, were Rajah Pataiara, Rajah Cobocapalla, Rajah Manghango, Rajah Boccabarra, Rajah Timbantan. Drake entertained them with the best cheer that he could provide and showed them all over his ship; the different parts of the vessel were described to them, as well as her ordnance and her arms, while at such times Drake also charmed them with his music, in which they took an especial pleasure.

On March 21st the Rajah Donan, not to be behindhand in displaying hospitality, came on board "with his country music" and played before the General; and, although it "were of a very strange kind yet the sound was pleasant and delightful." From this we gather that Drake heard the weird music of the *gamalang*—a number of instruments all differently tuned, some of which the performers strike with small bamboo sticks. These entertainments rather hindered the business which the English had in hand, although time seems to have passed pleasantly both for the hosts and for their visitors. When at last the latter had revictualled the ship and payed her bottom—a piece of work that was very necessary since the sheathing of ships was not yet in fashion—they prepared to take their leave.

Drake's historian states that the Javanese were a very true and just dealing people. They were stout, warlike, and

well armed with swords and targets and daggers exquisitely wrought. Coloured clothes "as red or green delighted them. They are naked save their heads whereon they wear a Turkish roll as do the Moluccians. From the middle they wear a pintado of silk trailing upon the ground." He describes their method of boiling rice, which when it was brought to a firm consistency became hard like bread, and when served with butter, oil, sugar, or spices made a pleasant food.

After bidding the rajahs farewell Drake left Java for Europe on March 26th. He sailed across the Indian Ocean, passed round the Cape of Good Hope, refreshed his ships at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on September 26th, 1580, "which was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home . . . but in our computation was the Lord's day or Sunday."

THOMAS CAVENDISH

Thomas Cavendish, England's second circumnavigator, reached Java eight years later. Upon the Hondius map, where his track is shown with that of Drake, Cavendish appears to have touched at the south-east end of the island. The historian of his voyage,[1] however, states that "on the 1st March 1588, having passed through the Straights of Java Minor and Java Major, wee came to an ancker under the Southwest parts of Java Major." Java Major, as already related, was the name for Java proper, and Java Minor originally signified Sumatra, but, when it was found how much larger the latter island really was, the name Java Minor was transferred to one of the smaller islands east of Java, so that Cavendish's route "through the Straights of Java Major and Java Minor" was probably between Java and Bali.[2]

A modern writer [3] (quoting from Hakluyt [4]) states that

[1] English Voyages: *Cavendish's Circumnavigation*, by Francis Pretty, Hakluyt Series, vol. xi, p. 337.

[2] On the Globe by Molyneux in the Middle Temple Library Cavendish's track passes between these two islands.

[3] Edinburgh Cabinet Library: *History of the Circumnavigation of the Globe*, p. 131.

[4] Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 821.

" on the 1st of March they passed through a strait formed by the islands eastward of Java and on the 5th anchored in a bay on the south side of that valuable settlement." [1]

Here they saw several Javanese fishing in a bay under the land. Cavendish went towards them in a ship's boat, and he took, along with his own sailors, a negro captured in the Spanish ship *Santa Anna* who could speak the " Morisco " (probably Malay) tongue. The commander ordered the negro to call to the fishers, but when they saw the boat they ran into the woods, excepting one man who came to the shore and replied to the negro's call.

Cavendish inquired through his black interpreter for fresh water, which was found, and he then ordered the fisher to go and inform the king that a ship wanted refreshments and was come to purchase diamonds, pearls, or other jewels for which he should have gold or other merchandise in exchange. The fisher promised to obtain refreshment for the English. Then the boat returned to the *Desire* and the seamen began to bring wood and water on board.

On the 8th March canoes came off from the town with fowls, fresh fish and fruit, and the Commander was informed that he should have more provisions, but that it was a long distance to bring them to " where wee ridde." Cavendish therefore weighed and stood in nearer the town. When the English vessel got under sail one of the king's canoes was seen coming to meet her, so " we shoke the shippe in the wind " and waited for it to come on board.

The canoe brought the king's secretary and an interpreter with a present of fresh food, and wine for the Commander, which was as strong as any aqua vitae and " as cleare as any rocke water." (This was called Nipa or palm wine, being made from the Nipa palm, *Nipa fruticans*.) The secretary promised to supply all the needs of the ship and Cavendish treated him royally, placing before him the choicest wines and preserved fruits taken from the *Santa Anna*, while the

[1] Burney states that the eastern district of Java " being named Ballamboang was probably the part of the island at which Cavendish touched."—*Chron. Hist. Discov.*, vol. ii, p. 91.

musicians played very skilfully; for Cavendish, like Drake, had a good band on board his ship. The visitors stayed in the *Desire* that night and learned that the voyagers were English, that they "had beene in China" (a slight stretch of imagination on the part of their hosts), and that they were come for discovery and trade. In the evening some volleys of small shot were discharged in honour of the guests.

On the 12th the king's canoes, to the number of nine or ten, came to the ship deeply laden with more provisions, among which were "two great live oxen, half a score of wonderful great and fat hogges, a number of fowls, geese, plantans, sugar cane, sugar in plates, oranges both sweet and sour, limes and "a great store of wine and aqua vitae and salt to season victuals withal," the sight of all of which must have delighted the hearts of the sailors, who possibly had lived on hard sea-fare for a considerable time.

VISITED BY THE PORTUGUESE

With the rest of the people in one of the canoes were two Portuguese merchants "of marveilous proper personage." They were dressed each of them in a loose jerkin and hose; they "had on, each of them, a very faire and white lawne shirt with falling bands on the same very decently." These "Portugales" were no small joy to the Commander and the rest of the company, for we "had not seen any Christian that was our friend for a year and a half."

They were very well treated in the ship with banquets and music, and "were no less glad to see us than wee to see them." They asked "what had become of Don Antonio [1] their King" and if he was living? The Spaniards had always told them that he was dead. Cavendish assured them that he "was alive and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene; that there was war between Spain and England and that we were come under the King of Portugal into

[1] Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, claimant to the throne of Portugal (after the death of Cardinal Henry who died in 1580), assisted by France and England, long kept up the struggle for the throne against the King of Spain. He died in poverty in France, aged sixty-four, and was buried in the Church of Ave Maria, being styled "King" upon his tomb.

the South Sea and had warred upon the Spaniards there and had fired, spoiled and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meete to the number of 18 or 20 sailes." With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On their side they "declared unto us the state of the island of Java . . . of the great choice and store of victuals of all sorts and of all manner of fruits; then the great and rich merchandise to be had there; and that the King of that part of the island was the Raja Bolamboan—a man had in great majesty and feare among them. . . ." The Portuguese also stated that he was "of great years and hath a hundred wives, his sonne hath fiftie."

The Portuguese described the natives of Java to the English, their manners and customs, and said, further, that "if their King Don Antonio would come unto them they would warrant him to have all the Molucos besides China, Sangles and the Isles of the Philippians, and that he might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that were in the country."

After we "had fully contented these Portugals and the people of Java," says Cavendish's historian, they "tooke their leaves of us with promise of good entertainment at our return." On the 16th of March, his ship having fired a parting salute of three guns, Cavendish sailed on his homeward voyage.

Cavendish was not quickly forgotten in Java. We hear of him again when the Dutch cast anchor upon the coast in 1597 about a league north-west by west of Balambuan. A native officer came to welcome Houtman's expedition and stated that the king-regent's father was still living, that he was very old and had retired to the interior of the island. This venerable king had told of a ship, built after the manner of the Dutch ships, which had visited those coasts ten years previously. "Wherefore," says the writer of the Dutch voyage, "they presumed that this old prince might be the same whom Sir Thomas Cavendish mentions in his journal."[1]

The visits of Drake and Cavendish to Java opened the eyes of Englishmen at home to the riches of the East. One old geographer states that Cavendish "clearly opened a

[1] *First Dutch Voyages to the East Indies*," p. 228.

passage" [1] for his countrymen to the East Indies, and that he "contributed considerably to the knowledge of nautical science of the day."

The founding of the East India Company gave a great impetus to English commerce, and a fleet was dispatched "for the discovery of trade in the East Indies," of which Captain James Lancaster was appointed General (or Admiral). Four large ships comprising the *Dragon*, 600 tons, 202 men, Captain Lancaster; the *Hector*, 300 tons, 108 men, Captain Middleton; the *Ascension*, 260 tons, 32 men, William Brand, captain; the *Susan*, — tons, 84 men, John Hayward, captain; and a smaller one called the *Guest*, a victualler of 130 tons (which was broken up after doubling Cape St. Augustine), left England in May, 1601, for the East Indies.

The fleet called at various ports on the voyage and entered the Straits of Sunda on December 15th, 1602. Next morning the English vessels anchored in the Roads of Bantam and "shot off such a thundering peal of ordnance as never had rung there before," [2] which seems to have been a favourite way for ships to make the time of their arrival or departure known in those early days.

Within two days the English traders brought their goods ashore and had begun to buy and sell, when one of the king's nobles came to inform them that it was the custom of their ruler to have the articles on sale submitted to him before they were offered to his subjects. The king therefore was given his choice, and paid well for the goods purchased, and in five weeks the English had sold more than would pay for the lading of their ships. They then started to load their vessels with products of the island, and "as fast as they bought pepper sent it aboard," and by February 10th their ships were completely laden. During his stay in Java Captain Lancaster obtained permission to establish an English factory at Bantam, and left there eleven persons in charge of two houses full of goods. Mr. William Starkey was appointed commander of the factory, with orders to sell such commodities

[1] Harris, p. 875.
[2] Astley's *Voyages*, vol. i, p. 274.

as were left behind and to provide lading for the English ships that would call at the port in future.

Captain Lancaster went on board the *Dragon* on February 20th, 1603, and the ships set sail for England. The factory at Bantam which he established was held by the English until 1683; shortly before this the Sultan of Bantam had granted to the Dutch East India Company the monopoly in spices, a concession which compelled the English to close their factory and to withdraw altogether from his dominions.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE DUTCH IN JAVA: HOUTMAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

WHILE the Portuguese continued to add, bit by bit, to their possessions in Asia, events in Europe were working in favour of another nation, which soon became their most successful rival in the East.

In 1587, the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands, exasperated by the tyranny of Philip II, who had inherited them as part of the possessions of the Dukes of Burgundy, revolted against Spain, and formed themselves into the New Republic of the Seven Provinces. Philip had already acquired the kingdom of Portugal in addition to his hereditary possessions, and the Portuguese colonies also fell into his hands. The Dutch, while continuing their strenuous efforts against their oppressor, rapidly fitted out a mercantile marine, and, what was more important, a strong navy. Both services produced a galaxy of sea-captains, and the infant republic became so strong that it not only was able to withstand Philip but also to contend successfully against all other European competitors as carriers of trade.

Formerly the Hollanders had been compelled to obtain the products of the Indies from Lisbon. When this market was closed to them by Philip, however, they brought spices from the East Indies to Europe themselves. Their commercial dealings with Asia entailed a still larger increase in their shipping, and in a short time they acquired the greater part of the sea-trade of both continents.

The Union of Portugal and Spain, on the other hand, proved disastrous for the Portuguese, checking that spirit of enterprise which had won for them their rich Asiatic possessions and paralysing the energy of their seamen. Their ships were ruined in the Spanish service. They had no fleet or

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Chinabatam
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Columbu
Calandua
Tamapuro
Bianacaon
Agraciosa
Mulusura
Ranata
Lubock
Cariman
Iava
Iasem
Brandan
Siday
Arosbay
Madura
Valground
Liampon
Great bay
Fresh water
C. Poplado
Straits of Sunda
C. Acksen
C. der Mayo
Bantam
Tanbara
Tanionjava
Iacatra or Batavia
Carwaon
Monucaon
Der Mayo
Iyonck tave
Charabon
Los Saros
Fatagalle
Damna
Iappara
Mandalique
Paty
Son
Can
Tubaon
Surabaia
Gerrici
Iortan
Iuanna
Daya
Passarua
Panaruca
Baly
Palace
Cambava
Aram
Pecato
Bima
Gunape
Littel Iava I.
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Issesucar
Iunculan
GREAT IAVA.
Sulpher mount
Ballabuam
Mataran
Str. of Ballabuam
C. dos Porcos
Str. of Baly
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galleys to escort vessels, to guard the seaports or to scour the coasts; the sea was full of pirates, the Moors made descents, navigation was unsafe and commerce daily decreased. The number of their India ships lessened, and whereas formerly twenty used to go eastward, and "scarce one miscarried" the number was reduced to a few, indifferently laden and half of which were lost or taken, over two hundred great galleons alone being lost while Portugal was dependent on Spain.[1]

HOUTMAN'S EXPEDITION

The first Dutch fleet to reach the East Indies left the Texel on April 2nd, 1595, and arrived at Bantam on January 23rd, 1596. It came to be known as Houtman's Expedition. A year or so previously Cornelis Houtman had been imprisoned in Lisbon for attempting to penetrate the secrets of the Portuguese discoveries in the Far East, and, a large fine being imposed, he begged several merchants of Amsterdam to obtain his release, promising in return to show them the way to the Indian Archipelago and to find them markets there. The merchants organized a company under the name of "*The Company for Remote Countries*," paid Houtman's fine and sent him with their ships to the Indies. The vessels were well equipped and armed in the most up-to-date manner. There were four of them, namely the *Mauritius*, 400 tons, "carrying 6 demi-cannon, 14 pieces of iron and other pieces, 4 pieces to shoot stone and 84 men," John Molenaar being master and Cornelis Houtman factor (or supercargo); [1] the *Hollandia*, or *Lion of Holland*, of 400 tons, "carrying 7 pieces of brass, 12 pieces to shoot stone, 13 iron pieces and 85 men," John Dignums being master and Geerit Van Buiningen factor; the *Amsterdam*, 200 tons, "having 6 brass pieces, 10 iron pieces, 6 pieces to shoot stone and 59 men," John Jacobzoon Schellinger being master and Regnier Van Hel factor; and the *Dove* pinnace, 50 tons, "with a complement of 20 men," the master being Simon Lambertzoon.

[1] *A Modern Part of Universal History: The History of Portugal*, 1759, p. 277
[2] *First Dutch Voyages to the East Indies*. Amsterdam.

After rounding the Cape of Good Hope and meeting with many adventures in their voyage across the Indian Ocean, they sighted the island of Engano (so named by the Portuguese) on New Year's Day, 1596. In approaching its shores we are told that one "might smell the sweet and strong odour of spices that grew on Sumatra."

On January 11th the fleet cruised along the west coast of Sumatra and, entering the Straits of Sunda, cast anchor "under a very long island."[1] It was desert and woody, and no water could be found. Three large native boats came towards them and nine others were seen there. One of the Dutch ships sent a boat off to speak with them, and ascertained that each was manned by sixteen men, seven of whom rowed, the rest "being seen under a shed on board." They were the first craft of any kind met with eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and probably were *panga joaos*, or large rowing-boats—the native sailors being clothed in "fine calico" (the sarong) while some wore turbans.

The Dutch could not understand their language. They spoke of Bantam, Japara, and Sunda Calapa; but, as the historian of this voyage remarks: "The Dutch never having so much as heard the name of Sunda Calapa could not understand what they said of it."

A sloop was sent over to the Sumatran shore for water, and the seamen who went in search of it saw for the first time pepper plants growing "on thick and high reeds like hops." The native ruler from Sumatra afterwards visited the fleet. He wore Turkish dress and brought them a present of betel. Canoes also arrived bringing fish, fruit, and spices, and the natives began to trade with the Dutch in a very friendly way. During their stay here the latter engaged a native pilot to take the ships to Bantam; this pilot, for his services, demanded five "pieces of eight" (say one pound) from each commander.

On January 17th the ships again set sail and, while voyaging through the Straits of Sunda on the 18th, sighted "a huge flock of birds which were as big as ravens but more like bats, for they had no feathers." One gathers from the

[1] Probably at Long (or Lang) Island and on its east side.

description that the Dutch saw flying foxes. The Dutch writer says: "They oblige . . . people to watch all night on the tops of the [fruit] trees . . . to keep off such mischievous birds. The Indians eat them and say they are as good as partridges"—all of which is quite true if we substitute bats for birds, and they were the species known as the Great Kalong (*Pteropus edulis*).[1]

BANTAM ROADS

The fleet arrived off Bantam Roads on January 22nd where next day it anchored. Here a junk was seen which "looked afar like a herring fisher boat, but was quite another thing in her manner of sailing." She had a foremast, a mainmast, and a mizzen with a mainsail and a spritsail. Her sails "were woven with rushes and the shrouds were of the same material. The bulk of the ship was joyned together after the same manner as a cooper joyns the head of a cask." She was of about thirty to forty tons and her deck was covered with rushes. On drawing near the town the Dutch "saw sixty little barks which the inhabitants call proas." On this day Cornelis Houtman was made Captain-Major.

Towards evening six Portuguese, who brought their slaves with them, came on board the *Mauritius* and began to retail the news of the port. They stated that the King of Bantam was dead, having been killed while besieging Palembang, that he was succeeded by his son, an infant of five months, and the Bantamese had chosen the late king's father-in-law as Governor. The Portuguese further said that they had been on board Cavendish's ship and gave vivid accounts of Captain Lancaster's fights in the Straits of Malacca.

The Shahbander (or king of the port) who next visited the *Hollandia*, when he heard that the strangers had come there solely to trade, showed himself gracious and friendly, and desired them to anchor nearer the town. Other callers

[1] Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra*, states that he observed very large flights of these bats passing at a great height in the air as if migrating from one country to another, and he adds that Captain Forrest noticed them crossing the straits of Sunda from Java Head to Mount Pugong. Leichardt found the Australian species an excellent article of food.

followed, on one occasion as many as twenty-six merchants "of all nations" being on board the ships. The Governor also inspected the fleet, and having expressed a wish to see their merchandise the Dutch showed him various articles and presented him with a piece of scarlet cloth; when he took his departure he asked that a salute might be fired—a request which was duly complied with. Lastly, the Emperor of Java honoured the *Mauritius* with a visit, bringing his two sons, who were shown round the vessel. At parting the Emperor "made great promises" to his hosts. He was clothed in fine calico that had a ground of gold, and his eldest son, "a comely youth of 20," wore on his girdle a rich oval jewel set with very big precious stones, chiefly emeralds and rubies.

All these calls were returned by Cornelis Houtman. "When Captain Houtman went to Bantam he was attended by seven or eight men in velvet and sattin cloaths with swords by their sides; some walking before and some after him, and one holding a 'Parasol' over his head. A trumpeter marched before, sounding now and then, and ten or twelve seamen closed the March."

Thus the Dutch first came to Java! When we think how long and how tenaciously they have held the island we can realize that a good deal of importance attaches itself to these early visits.

BANTAM MARKETS

The markets of Bantam possessed a great fascination for the visitors, for merchants from all parts of Asia assembled there to buy and sell, including Chinese, Arabians, Persians, Moors, Peguans, natives of Malabar, and "other merchants of several nations who were all very kind and civil." The Dutch writer gives a precise description of the bazaar or great market-place. "Going to the market you find women sitting by the palisades of the Mosque . . . with sacks of pepper and a measure . . . which containes about three pounds weight. . . . Within the palisades you see a great many women who sell betel, areca, melons and bananas. . . . Then you come to a place where men sell all manner of weapons and arms made in

A JAVANESE MAN

the country. . . . On the right hand you see . . . pigeons, parrots and other fowl. Here is a triangle which makes three little lanes, one of which goes to the china merchant ships, the other to the herb market and the third to the butcher's.

"Going to the china-shops you find . . . a sorry sort of Arabian and Caracon [1] jewellers who sell little rubies, hyacinths and other stones. . . . On the left the Bengales sell enamel and other small wares. Over against them you find the rich China shops full of silk stuffs of all colours, damasks, velvet, cloth of gold, porcelaine and a world of pretty toys . . . further on the left hand you find the butchery where they sell beef, mutton and elk [venison], and a little way farther is the spice market [most important of all], furnished with all sorts of spices. . . ." This early glimpse of the market-place at Bantam, in the year 1596, will show that Time has not wrought very many changes in the customs of Eastern markets or their wares.

To Houtman's historian the people of Bantam seemed to be "mighty proud and walk with great pomp, having a rich handkerchief in their hands and a turban of fine linen upon their heads. Some wear a little velvet or black cloak—their poniards are tied to their girdles." They are always attended by servants, one of whom carries a bunch of betel.

In appearance this writer says the Javanese "were of black brown complexion; their cheeks broad and high; their eyelids large; their eyes little; their beards thin." In character he thought them "false and malicious and so revengeful that, when wounded by their enemies, they have no rest till they have taken vengeance."

The inhabitants of the interior of Java, he says, were heathens and followed the opinion of Pythagoras, believing in the transmigration of the soul from one body to another, and for that reason they "eat nothing that is entitled to life. They kill no animals." Along the seashore and upon the

[1] According to this Dutchman "Caracon" was another name for Persian, and he writes: "The Persians at Bantam, whom the Javanese call Caracon, subsist by trading in drugs and precious stones. They are very fine and knowing merchants."

coasts all the inhabitants, excepting a few, were Mohammedans, who "acknowledge but four Prophets, Moses, David, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. . . . They have their Mosques or Churches which nobody enters without being washed. They perform their devotions with great modesty and recollection, and have always their faces toward the sun."

The Dutch Agents were received by the Governor at his house, and he granted them permission to trade with the natives. At this meeting all went very well with the Dutch. The natives, too, were well pleased. Nothing, in fact, occurred to mar the harmony of these first negotiations, during which "oaths were reiterated on both sides," the Dutch engaging to assist the Governor and his subjects with all their forces; while on the other hand the Governor promised "to protect the Dutch against their enemies and even against the Emperor himself." A house in Bantam, built of brick and stone, was given up entirely to the Dutch agents, where the first trade between the two countries was established.

A little later quarrels with the natives began, for starting which the Dutch historian blames the Portuguese, who doubtless by this time, perceived that most dangerous rivals had arrived in Java. They certainly did their best to discredit the Dutch in the eyes of the natives, and the Dutch tried very hard to discredit the Portuguese. At last, after much friction had been aroused, Houtman went to the Governor and boasted that he would take two junks in the harbour that were lading a cargo of cloves—these being the property of Portuguese merchants. Because of his arrogant threats, Houtman and some who had accompanied him on shore were cast into prison. In the end they were set free, but not before the Dutch had been compelled to pay 2,000 pieces of eight (say £400) for their release. When he set Houtman at liberty the Governor informed him that as it was impossible to trade peaceably or with profit with the Dutch they "would do better to go and trade somewhere else." The Bantamese were annoyed because the visitors would not pay more for the pepper and bought it sack by sack and never more than ten sacks at a time, "whereas it was expected they would at least buy

A JAVANESE WOMAN

visited the king of that part of Java, who presented a rare bird called the eme (emu) to John Schellinger, Master of the *Amsterdam*. While at this anchorage three native proas bringing with them a present of two rare animals—to cover their real design—suddenly boarded the *Amsterdam* and killed Schellinger and the Commissioner, and in the fight that took place twelve Dutchmen lost their lives. Several natives were taken prisoners, and after the ship had been cleared of the rest these natives confessed that they had stealthily followed the fleet from Bantam to Jacatra, and thence to Sidayu. A second tragedy took place while the vessels were anchored off the island of Madura, when the Governor, accompanied by one of his ministers, came to visit them. The seamen on watch in the *Amsterdam*, observing a closely-packed proa full of armed natives approaching, and fearing another attack, swept its deck with their great guns and killed both the Governor and his minister. The tragic event long embittered the Madurese against the Dutch.

"This new accident," says our diarist, "obliged the Dutch to seek for another anchoring place." Therefore they sailed on December 9th and "cast anchor under a little island called Leboc, or the little Madura, in 6° 10′ S., 12 or 13 leagues off Java, being surrounded with two other small islands." [1] The new anchorage was at Lubeck or Bawean Island—approximately sixty miles northward of Surabaya—and the two small islands surrounding it were Nusa Islet, a bare rock, and Bila, a wooded islet 157 feet high. The ships probably entered Sankapura Road, on the south coast, and came there twice. Sailing on the 14th they steered westward for eleven days, but the north and north-west winds being against them and the current strong, to their extreme surprise, on December 25th, they again sighted Lubeck and were obliged to anchor there. At the southerly point of the island there was a little church [2] and some coco-nut trees, near which stood the houses of the inhabitants.

[1] "In the Road which lies off the south coast of the island"—its latitude is 5° 52′ S., longitude 112° 41′ E.

[2] Probably a mosque. Three years previously the King of Japara had sent some of his subjects to settle there.

On this day—Christmas Day, 1596—to the sorrow of his friends, John Molenaar, the popular master of the *Mauritius*, died suddenly; many on board thought that he had been poisoned because his body became "covered with blue spots and his hair fell off"; and those who previously had wished to sail to the Moluccas now "cried out that it was time to return to Holland."

A council was assembled and suspicion fell on Houtman, who was put in irons. He was afterwards acquitted. On January 1st, 1597, the *Amsterdam* having grown very unseaworthy, she was destroyed. The Dutch set her on fire off Lubeck, causing much excitement among the natives who assembled to watch her burn, and afterwards tried to haul her frame upon a rock to save the old ironwork.

The vessels weighed and set sail on January 12th. We are told that some on board the *Hollandia* wished to sail westward and some eastward, but eventually the ship followed the *Mauritius* to the east end of Java. On her voyage the *Hollandia* went aground. She was refloated without damage and on the 18th both vessels sighted the burning mountain behind Panaruca. Our historian gives a glimpse of the city, which he says was inhabited by a great many Portuguese and by natives who had embraced Christianity. He writes: "It is governed by a king who loves the Portuguese extremely . . . the most considerable trade is in slaves . . . they also sell a pretty deal of long pepper," and he adds the Portuguese "have no church or chapel at Bantam, but have some at Panaruca." It will be remembered that in January, 1532, Nuno da Cunha had set up a stone pillar of discovery bearing the royal arms at this Javanese town.

On the same day the ships entered the Strait of Bali, between Java and Bali, and on the 22nd anchored off Blambangan on the Java shore. On January 27th the fleet reached Bali, where it was inspected from the harbour by the king of the island. He came to the seashore "in a well-made chariot drawn by buffles [buffaloes] with fine harness"; his guards, walked before him "carrying spears and trunks with gilded darts" [blow-pipes]. The vessels fired a salute in his

honour and, to the Dutch, his court appeared "ten times more noble than that of the Governor of Bantam." The ships took their departure for Europe on February 26th, and arrived home on August 11th, 1597.

VANNECK AND VAN WARWICK

Houtman's expedition brought little financial gain to the merchants of Amsterdam who represented the "Company of Remote Countries," but this did not deter the Dutch from making other voyages to the East. One fleet after another left Holland in quick succession for the Indian Archipelago.

The second fleet, commanded by Admiral Jacobus Cornelis Vanneck and Rear-Admiral Wybrandt Van Warwick, and composed of six ships and two yachts, quitted the Texel on May 1st, 1598. The eight vessels sailed in company down the Atlantic, but at last became separated in rounding the Cape on August 8th, in a terrible storm that raged for some days. Van Warwick, with five ships—the *Amsterdam*, *Zeeland*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and the big yacht *Vriesland*—was driven northward to seek shelter at the island of Cerne (Mauritius); while Vanneck, with three ships—the *Mauritius*, the *Holland*, and the *Overissel*—took refuge at the neighbouring island of Madagascar. After watering his ships here Vanneck continued his voyage to Bantam, arriving in the roads on November 26th. The natives at first thought that Houtman's ships had returned; on being convinced that quite another fleet had come to visit them—and after the Dutch had made presents to their infant king—they grew more amiable and brought them refreshments. A month later Van Warwick's fleet also entered the port.

At this time Vanneck's seamen had nearly finished lading their three ships with spices, and these being plentiful, a full cargo was hurriedly placed on board the *Vriesland*, and Admiral Vanneck prepared to sail for Holland, eventually putting to sea on January 11th, 1599. Van Warwick's four remaining ships made ready to voyage to the Moluccas, and,

hastening their departure, were able to leave the harbour before Vanneck's fleet, sailing out of it during the night of January 8th. When the two admirals parted company the ships discharged so many guns that the whole island of Java echoed with the noise of their firing. We are told that the inhabitants "were up all night, but in the morning, seeing that four ships had gone, they were very well pleased." On his homeward voyage Vanneck called at St. Helena, where he left the master's mate of the *Vriesland*, who had been "saucy" and had struck his master. In addition to a supply of provisions, the mutinous seaman was given gunpowder and a gun so that he might keep himself supplied with food. On June 19th Vanneck reached the Texel with the richest cargo ever brought to the Netherlands, consisting chiefly of pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon.

Whilst voyaging along the north coast of Java on his way to the Moluccas, Van Warwick put into Jacatra to obtain refreshment—thence sailing to Tuban. To those in the ships Tuban appeared "the finest town in Java." It "was walled about and had wooden gates well carved." The Dutch historian thought its king the most powerful sovereign in the island, and a long account is given of the wonders seen at this place, including the king's palace built of brick and the rooms paved with square tiles "as in Holland"; the elephant houses; the cockpit where each bird had a cage; dog-kennels where each dog had his master to teach him exercises; and a collection of beautiful parrots with plumage of very vivid colours.

As a matter of fact, Van Warwick during this voyage saw more of Java and did more to further Dutch interests there than any other commander. He obtained many concessions from the native princes permitting the Dutch to build factories, and arranged for a permanent trade between Holland and Java. In November, 1599, he again called at Jacatra and no doubt described it to the authorities at home as a port in a very advantageous situation.

Van Warwick seems to have been an imposing figure among the Europeans at Bantam (which he revisited) and one of the

few Dutchmen to show a sincere friendship for the English. When Captain Lancaster established his factory in 1602, and left it in charge of a few Englishmen, the Dutch were already numerous there. Van Warwick then proved a true friend to the small party, and Edmund Scot, Lancaster's chief factor, writes: "The English were very much beholden to this General for wine and bread, besides other necessaries and courtesies received at his hands." He "would often tell them how Sir Richard Luson relieved him at sea when he was likely to perish, and that for that same reason he was bound to be kind to Englishmen whenever he met them." "To speak the truth," says Scot, "there was not anything in his ships for the relief of sick men but they might have commanded it as if it had been their own." He likewise "expressed himself with great respect always of the Queen." [1] Some of the "baser sort of Dutchmen" were not so respectful when her name was mentioned.

Japara became the centre of Dutch enterprise to the eastward (although the English previously had settled at this place [2]), and there the Hollanders built for themselves a principal factory upon which all their other factories to the eastward were dependent. The town stood at the foot of a mountain named Invincible, which overlooked the buildings, and for this reason it was kept strongly fortified.

Java soon became well known in Europe as a halting-place where ships could easily be replenished with wood and water, obtain refreshment, and load rich spices, including nutmegs; and, when the Dutch found that Jacatra offered facilities for all three, they formed a settlement there.

BATAVIA

Batavia's history as a European settlement dates back to the coming of Pieter Both. On the 27th of December, 1609, the States-General declared their intention of establishing a Governor-General in Java for the administration of their East India possessions and the protection of their trade. Having

[1] Astley's *Voyages*, vol. i, p. 282.
[2] The author of *Roggewein's Voyage*.

MOLL'S MAP OF THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO (1709)

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chosen Pieter Both for the post, they furnished him with instructions and sent him to uphold and extend the prestige of the Dutch East India Company throughout Java and the Moluccas. Both reached Java in 1611, and, after landing soldiers and settlers at Bantam, chose Jacatra as the seat of his authority. Known as Jacatra by some and as Calapa by others, it was still an inconsiderable native town, but was well situated, convenient to the port, and admirably adapted for a commercial city. Moreover, it best answered to the description of the town that Both had been enjoined to obtain from the native ruler to serve as a "rendezvous" suitable "for the whole of the Indian navigation."

The reigning Pangeran of Jacatra was a prince of Mataram. Pieter Both quickly entered into an alliance with this ruler, making a contract with him to supply the Dutch with his territorial produce, which was chiefly pepper. Both also secured a piece of land whereon he gained permission to build an official residence.[1]

In a short time the Dutch were actively engaged in trade with the natives, and their ships in increasing numbers began to call at Jacatra. Both did not remain in Java many years, however, and his career as first Governor-General closed in January, 1615. He sailed with four richly-freighted ships on his homeward voyage, but was lost off Mauritius in a cyclone, when three out of the four vessels perished. Two years before he left he appointed Jan Pietersen Coen director of the posts of both Bantam and Jacatra. Coen afterwards rose to be Governor and later Director-General of these posts, which brought all trade under his care; his methods of controlling the affairs given into his charge proved so successful that he has come to be regarded as the founder of the Dutch East Indian Empire.

At the time of Pieter Both's arrival at Jacatra the English East India Company also were endeavouring to establish trade connexions with Java, and their merchants had formed a settlement at the native town. Middleton, it is said, first flew the English flag there in 1604, and Keeling again in January and

[1] This was erected in 1612.

August, 1609—the latter having sold gunpowder to the king, who in return gave the English permission to erect a factory, which was opened in 1610.[1] We are told that the factories of the Dutch and English almost faced each other, the former being on the east side of the "great" river and the latter on the west. English ships, too, had begun to frequent the port and before long conflicts between the two nations took place.

THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH AT WAR

In course of time the Dutch also grew suspicious of the native ruler, and, believing that he had been guilty of a breach of faith, they started in 1618 to build a large fort, for which no permission had been obtained. This proceeding not only offended the Jacatrans but aroused the anger of the English, of whom John Powell and Nicholas Ufflet held the chief posts, and ere long the two European factions were on the verge of open warfare.

On November 22nd, 1618, an English squadron consisting of five ships under Sir Thomas Dale arrived at Bantam. With Dale there came from Europe John Jourdain, who had previously acted as English Agent in Bantam and who now returned as President for "all merchandising causes in the Indies."

Jourdain soon saw that the Dutch were making a bold bid for trade supremacy in Java. And, when Dale heard of the aggressions that had been committed against his countrymen at Jacatra, he promptly seized a Dutch ship in the harbour called the *Black Lion*, laden with rice and pepper, and held it "as a hostage for English grievances." In retaliation, the Dutch imprisoned two British merchants and chained them in the Dutch gatehouse at Jacatra in view of the country people. They then turned their guns upon the English factory there and, setting it on fire, burnt it to the ground.

Highly alarmed at these proceedings, the King of Jacatra sent a messenger to Bantam begging aid from the British fleet. A council having been called, it was forthwith agreed that Sir

[1] Campbell: *Java Past and Present.*

Thomas Dale and Captain Martin Pring should set out immediately for Jacatra and not only destroy the Dutch ships but their fort there as well. The names of the eleven ships which left Bantam under Dale (on December 20th), Captain Pring states, "were the *Moone* in which Sir Thomas Dale went, the *Gift* wherein I went myself, the *Unicorn*, the *Clove*, the *Globe*, *Sampson*, *Peppercorn*, *Thomas*, the *Bee*, the *Rose* and the *Swart Leo* [the *Black Lion*]. The 20th in the evening we anchored with all our fleet about a league to the northward of Hector Island." At Jacatra the English found seven sail of Hollanders ready to fight. The names of the Dutch ships were the *Old Sun*, the *Arms* [*Wapen*] *of Amsterdam*, *Delft*, *Golden Lion*, *Angel*, *Falcon*, and *Hunter*.

Coen, who was in command of these ships, states (in a dispatch sent by him to the Directors of the Dutch E.I. Co.), "in the afternoon . . . the English [on their first arrival] made for us and . . . sent a boat to us in which there was a trumpeter who demanded in the Dutch language that our whole fleet should surrender, and stating that we were doing great damage to the English people. . . . To this, we caused the reply to be made that if the *Black Lion* [1] was not returned to us in the same state as when she was taken we would avenge ourselves with force." On the 23rd (O.S.) after some manœuvring on both sides the two fleets met.

"We were," says Sir Thomas Dale, "eight fighting ships to seven of theirs but five of theirs much better than ours." [2] Dale in the *Moon* began the fight against the *Old Sun* of Holland. The battle raged for about three hours, during which time the English "shot above 1,200 great shot from six ships" and "chased the Dutch fleet next day through the Bay of Jacatra in sight of their castel."

Coen's ship the *Old Sun* seems to have suffered severely. Her mainmast was "twice shot through" leaving only a stump and she was unable to carry sail. She was beached on the coast of Java and another mast refitted. Finding himself short of powder Coen sailed eastwards towards Japara

[1] The *Black Lion* was accidentally set on fire and burnt to the water's edge.
[2] *Calendar of State Papers*: East Indies, 1617–21.—Letter of Sir T. Dale.

and came to an anchorage off Mandalique, 3 miles east of the former. Having called a council of his officers it was decided to retire to Amboyna and reinforce the fleet. From there Coen made the proud boast that he "would either win the horse or lose the saddle, expel the English or be expelled himself." [1]

On Coen's departure, Dale joined the Jacatrans who were besieging the Dutch fortress, which had been left in charge of Pieter Van den Broecke, whom Coen had appointed commander. Guns and troops were then landed from the English ships. Meanwhile the natives had enticed the leader of the Dutch garrison and some of his companions outside the walls of the fort, where Van den Broecke was treacherously seized and forced to write an order to his countrymen ordering them to surrender. The Dutch officers composing the garrison ignored the order and determined to hold the fort at all costs. Later, however, the leader made some overtures to surrender the fortress to the English, and negotiations had started when the Pangeran of Bantam made his appearance with a large army. He drove the ruler of Jacatra from his dominions, carried off Van den Broecke and his companions as prisoners to Bantam, and informed the besieged that he would allow the fortress to be handed over only to himself.

Seeing that it was no longer possible to carry out his terms of capitulation, Dale withdrew with his men and guns in disgust, whereupon the garrison, finding themselves rid of their most dangerous foe, were able to keep the Pangeran in check until the arrival of Coen.

On May 28th, 1619, Coen returned with a fleet of seventeen sail and a considerable body of troops. He took possession of Jacatra and destroyed it; and, marching upon Bantam, effected the release of Van den Broecke and his comrades. He then sailed to Patani and destroyed three English ships under Jourdain, who died very gallantly. Many other English ships fell into the hands of the Dutch at different ports; and, in the glowing account of his successes sent home in August, 1619,

[1] Pring's letter to the East India Company.—*Colonial Papers*, 643. India Office.

Coen informed the Dutch authorities that "the foundation of the rendezvous so long desired is now laid." [1]

The English, although badly disorganized, were not beaten, and, once more gathering together their forces, prepared to give battle to the Dutch. On December 10th, 1619, Captain Pring sailed from Masulipatam to Tiku, where he effected a junction with a squadron of three ships from Surat under Captain Bickley, and the united fleets set out for Bantam in March, 1620. While voyaging through the Straits of Sunda, however, they met an English ship called the *Bull*, bringing the news from England that peace between the English and Dutch East India Companies had been concluded.

ENGLISH AND DUTCH CO-OPERATION

The Home Governments of both nations, realizing that their constant conflicts were a menace to their trade, in 1619 had concluded a treaty [2] whereby a Council of Defence, consisting of an equal number of the members of the Dutch and English East India Companies, was established at Batavia to maintain their common interests. By its terms the English were awarded one-third of the trade in the Moluccas and one-half of the Bantam pepper trade. The fleets, therefore, three days later, met not as enemies but friends, and anchored side by side on the following day in Bantam Roads.

Close to the ruins of Jacatra,[3] in the midst of fens and morasses, Coen built his capital. The spot chosen was situated near the sea upon the shores of a large bay. Lands rich in crops of rice encircled it and a line of hills protected it, a reason doubtless which induced him to select it for the site of the city.

Coen at first wished to call the future town New Horn in honour of his birthplace in Holland. But the Committee of the Dutch East India Company had already chosen for it the name of Batavia. In a letter dated as far back as October 31st,

[1] de Jonge Opk., 4 : 179.

[2] The treaty expired in 1621, and in 1628 the English President and Council removed to Bantam.

[3] Valentyn says that it was not exactly upon the same spot.

1617, they had informed him of their decision. Coen, however, did not like the designation and did not use it, and the order had to be repeated in 1620. Not until the following year was Batavia first used officially as the name of the town, although the letter testifies that it was selected for it before its foundations were laid.[1] Coen built Batavia upon the old model of Amsterdam. It became one of the finest cities in the Indies, was famed for its magnificence, and it was called the Queen of the East.

Leguat,[2] who saw it in 1697, writes of it thus: "The houses were built after the manner of Holland, but with white stone. Its form is an oblong square, and in an angle towards the north-west is the sea, and the fort or citadel. . . . The houses are . . . low built . . . the streets are straight and large and have . . . canals running through them with tall trees on their banks like those of Holland but . . . the trees here are always green. The city is surrounded with strong walls . . . the Citadel is a fort with four royal bastions fenced with large square stones and built level with the ground without any ditch. . . . This fort commands the haven and the town . . . is mounted with about 60 pieces of cannon, 15 or 16 whereof have the arms of France,—having been taken from the French. The four bastions have the names of the diamond, ruby, pearl and sapphire."

Another historian states: "The harbour was large enough to contain a thousand vessels and was shut up every night with a chain through which no ship could enter without permission and paying a fixed duty. The streets mostly were 30 feet broad and paved with brick near the houses."

Mrs. Hare, who obtained similar information from Dutch sources, states that the original fort was built in 1618 and that fifty-six bridges spanned the river, besides there being many drawbridges without the town. The private houses were neat and handsome.

In building these the Dutch indulged their national taste

[1] The name of Batavia was chosen (the Director of the Scheepvaart Museum at Amsterdam kindly tells the author) in order to avoid all friction between the Dutch Provinces.

[2] *Voyage of Francis Leguat.*

to the full, and in the European quarter they were counterparts of Dutch houses in the sixteenth century : their interiors being famous for their solid furniture, lustres of painted glass and numberless mirrors, while the outside walls were adorned with figures of birds and beasts as well as of gods and goddesses. The extreme unhealthiness of Batavia was attributed to the recession of the sea and to the miasma arising from the swamps, which proved so fatal to European sailors.

In 1629 the Javanese made a determined effort to drive the Dutch from Batavia, and the town was invested by 200,000 native troops. When they had besieged it for some months the native troops were compelled to retire broken and defeated. Before this rising occurred the Dutch had had the misfortune to lose their Governor-General.

Fortune still favoured the Dutch, however, and after Coen's departure they acquired still more power in Java. Naval and military triumphs also greatly extended their empire in the Indian Archipelago, and in the days of Van Diemen—who sent Tasman to discover New Zealand and Tasmania, and was one of their ablest servants—the Dutch were the leading maritime nation in the East. From this time forward all fears of foreign hostility were allayed, and they seem to have had only internal troubles to contend with ; the chief of these will be found to have been fully dealt with in Mrs. Hare's journal.

In consequence of Batavia's unhealthy state, in 1808 the old town was abandoned for residential purposes by Marshal Daendels, who was then its Governor, and the inhabitants settled upon higher ground, later known as Weltevreden. Here a new town with broad streets and airy open houses was founded by Daendels.

THE CONQUEST OF JAVA

In 1811, at which date Holland had become nothing more than a province of France and the French flag was flying at Batavia, Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, decided to undertake the conquest of Java. A large force was equipped in India to carry out this enterprise, and a squadron of English

warships, numbering one hundred vessels—including eight supplied by the Bombay Marine—convoyed the transports to their destination.

This large fleet left India in several divisions, Lord Minto embarking in H.M.S. *Modeste*, a fast-sailing frigate commanded by his son, Captain George Elliott, while Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, sailed in H.M.S. *Akbar*. The *Modeste* arrived at Penang on April 11th, and a month later reached Malacca.

On taking its departure from Malacca Roads the squadron sailed through the Straits of Singapore and anchored off High Islands. Its next rendezvous was Point Sambur on the south-west coast of Borneo, where Auchmuty assembled his forces numbering about 9,000 men, consisting of 4,000 European infantry, with a suitable proportion of artillery, and 4,000 native Bengal infantry with 300 cavalry.

From Point Sambur the fleet sailed to Java, and on August 4th the army disembarked at the village of Chillinching under the protecting guns of the *Leda* frigate. There was no opposition although the place was not more than ten or twelve miles east of the capital.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty determined first to explore the road to Batavia. He had no sooner landed than flames were seen rising high above the city, and he concluded that Janssens, the Dutch Governor-General, had evacuated it. On August 7th the British troops crossed the Anjol River and on the following day they reached and occupied the suburbs. From there Auchmuty sent his aides-de-camp to summon the burghers to surrender. On this day, August 8th, "the burghers of Batavia applied for protection and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreden." The same evening Colonel Gillespie advanced and took formal possession.

Proclamations were at once issued to both Dutch and native inhabitants. The former were promised protection, the latter were informed that the English "came as friends not . . . for the purposes of ruin and destruction but solely with the desire of securing to Eastern nations the enjoyment of

their ancient laws and institutions. . . . The port of Batavia is open to all native traders. All prows and vessels bringing provisions and merchandise will be well received and protected by the English ships of war."

Early on the morning of the 10th, Colonel Gillespie moved towards Weltevreden and again challenged Janssens who had retired to Fort Cornelis, which was strongly entrenched. The lines in front of the fort were forced by the British troops and the greater part of the enemy killed, captured, or dispersed. Janssens escaped with difficulty during the action and reached Buitenzorg, thirty miles away, with a few cavalry—the remnant of an army that had been 10,000 strong.

Not daring to remain at Buitenzorg, the Dutch Governor fled to Samarang. On September 9th, Auchmuty followed him thither, and on the 18th Janssens surrendered the whole of Java and its dependencies to the British general. A little later Surabaya, Timor, Macassar, and other Dutch possessions made their submission.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES

With Lord Minto there came Stamford Raffles as his civil adviser. Raffles was a young man, then about thirty years of age, and he had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its huge population a week before the date of its capitulation. A more suitable man could not have been found for the post since it was his great wish to see his country all-powerful in the Indian Archipelago. His good work in Java and the reforms that he carried out are well known, although many of his pet schemes were never hatched because the East India Company refused to incur the risk and expense of launching them, and in a short time he was withdrawn from the island.

At the restoration of peace the British Government returned to the Dutch all their Eastern possessions, and on the 19th of August, 1816, the flag of Holland, was once again hoisted at Batavia.

The Dutch no sooner found themselves back in Java than

they reverted to their policy of forcing the native rajahs to grant them the monopoly of the spice trade to the exclusion of other Europeans, and this killed all competition. Raffles, however, who in the meantime had been made Governor of Bencoolen, was not forgetful of his country's needs and did not cease to urge upon the authorities at home the necessity of obtaining a suitable seaport conveniently situated for British trade within the bounds of the Indian Archipelago. In 1818, when his patience was almost exhausted, he was ordered to return to India to discuss the subject with the authorities there. On his arrival he laid his views before them very clearly, and it was finally decided that he should return and look for this desirable port. In January 1819, his choice fell upon Singapore, of which he thereupon took possession. The Dutch raised various objections, but fortunately these were overcome, and when a final settlement with Holland took place it was agreed that Bencoolen should be exchanged for Malacca, and Singapore should remain in British hands. Thus, at last, England obtained the seaport for which she had been seeking ever since the days of Lancaster.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER XIX

RODRIGUEZ AND MAURITIUS

Towards the Mascarene Islands—" those specks in the Indian Ocean which when first discovered harboured so many curious birds "—the *Caroline*, on taking her departure from Java steered a south-westerly course. After passing round Java Head she sailed over a wide extent of ocean and probably sighted no land until approaching Rodriguez, a mountainous island in 19° 41′ S. and 63° 25′ E.

Rodriguez is the easternmost of the Mascarene Group and a dependency of Mauritius. Mathurin Bay, on the north coast, is the most suitable harbour and Port Mathurin the principal settlement. A flagstaff stands close to the beach and the Union Jack is hoisted whenever a vessel heaves in sight. The island is of volcanic formation, and a ridge runs through almost its entire length, the highest point, Mount Linion, being 1,300 feet high ; a pointed cone called Le Piton is also readily recognized in approaching the north coast.

Many curious birds still inhabit Rodriguez—none more noticeable, perhaps, among the sea-birds than the tropic-bird, which soars to great heights in the sunlight. The old Spanish navigators named these birds *Rubijuncos* from the resemblance that their long tail-feathers bore to the *rubijunco* or red rush. English sailors called them boatswain-birds because of their shrill whistling note. The island was afterwards found to have possessed a bird of a very different character. This was one which had not the power of flight and was quickly exterminated. The Huguenot Leguat, who lived there in 1692, has left a description of it, and the abundant remains discovered since show that the solitaire was merely a gigantic pigeon with a big body, strong beak, and ill-developed wings.

Rodriguez is said to have been discovered—so far as the word discovery implies being seen by Europeans for the first time—by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century, in all probability by Diego Fernandes Pereira, in 1507, when it appears to have been named Domigo Friz in honour of Pereira.

At this point of her voyage the *Caroline* entered difficult waters. Coral reefs encircle Rodriguez and nearly encircle Mauritius. To the north-west of Rodriguez, right in the path of ships bound to Mauritius from India, lies an extensive group of coral patches called Cargados Garajos, or the Saint Brandon Shoals. It is one of the most dangerous banks in the Indian Ocean where from earliest ages ships have been lost. We are told that in 1591, a Portuguese ship having an ex-Viceroy of India—Manoel de Sousa Coutinho—on board "was wrecked on the sands of Garajao"; and in July, 1818, the East Indiaman *Cabalva* struck upon this shoal. On the ancient map of Peter Kerius [1] (1614), Cargados bears the name of Corda dos Garaios, and another shoal, to the south-east of it, that of Saint Brandon and possibly both were named by the Portuguese. Formerly these two shoals were the subject of much discussion, some geographers believing Cargados and Saint Brandon to be one and the same, while others maintained that Saint Brandon was a separate shoal. Not until 1846 was the question settled. In that year Sir Edward Belcher in H.M.S. *Samarang*, with officers aloft and look-out men at the masthead, made a diligent search for Saint Brandon but could find no traces of it and proved conclusively that Cargados and Saint Brandon are one.

MAURITIUS

When the *Caroline* had passed Rodriguez she continued her course, and three days later [2] saw Round Island—the Ile Ronde of the French—which is thought to resemble a haycock.[3] Soon afterwards she sighted the rugged mountains

[1] Kerius was the brother-in-law of Hondius.

[2] Fourteen miles north-east of Mauritius.

[3] This island is interesting to naturalists because it possesses not only a palm, *Latania loddigesii*, unknown elsewhere (save in two small islets off it), but also a snake of its own.—Wallace.

of Mauritius. The breakers on its north-east coast may be heard from a distance of three miles, and they warn ships of the dangers near the shore. Captain Hare probably sailed into Port Louis through the safe channel between Flat Island and Gunner's Quoin (or Coin de Mire), which is generally used by vessels coming from the north-eastward.

From whatever direction Mauritius is approached its appearance is singularly abrupt and picturesque. The land near the coast recedes rapidly to the inland mountains, which form three chains whose height varies from 1,800 to 2,000 feet. The highest peak is the Pouce (2,847 feet), the summit of which bears a similarity to a thumb held upright. Pieter Both, another pinnacle rising behind Port Louis, and named after the Dutch Admiral who was drowned off the coast,[1] is probably over 2,500 feet. When seen in certain aspects its outline towards the summit resembles a figure in a flowing robe, which used to be likened by the old colonists to a Dutch doctor of laws in full dress.

ARABIAN CHARTS

Mauritius resembles Java in that it possesses a very ancient history. In early times it is said to have been well known to the Arabs, and there is little doubt that this statement is true. M. Buache, the famous French geographer, examined an ancient chart [3] of Nicolas Canerio, a Genoese, which was drawn shortly after the first Europeans voyaged to the Indies. Buache was struck with the name Dina Margabin, given to an island upon it, to the eastward of Madagascar. In fact, there were three islands together on this map—Dina Margabin, Dina Arobi, and Dina Moraze—all three placed to the east of the southernmost point of Madagascar, and, in the opinion

[1] Both's body was recovered and buried on shore.

[2] Canerio's map (based on Portuguese sources) is one of the most important maps of the period immediately following the discovery of America and the voyages of the Portuguese to India. Its date is about 1502. It was never published—being a MS. sheet—and the only existing copy is preserved in the Archives de la Service Hydrographique de la Marine in Paris. A complete full-size facsimile was reproduced in New York in 1907 by Professor Stevenson with an accompanying memoir.

of M. Buache, intended to represent the islands of Bourbon (Réunion), Mauritius, and Rodriguez. The name Margabin for the westernmost is analogous to the Arabic word Mogrebin, which signifies western; the word Dina joined to each of the three names probably being an equivalent for the Arabic, Diva, meaning island.[1]

Another early map, Ruysch's *Mappamundi* (1507–8), also shows signs of having been compiled, in part at least, from Moorish or Arabian charts. On it are seen the names of Cameocada for Madagascar, Dinanorca for Rodriguez, Dinarobin for Mauritius, and Maroabyn for Bourbon or Réunion.[2] "These names are corruptions," writes a modern geographer, "from Camor Diva (Island of the Moon), Diva Moraze, Diva Arobi and Diva Margabym"; [3] and the three last he calls the Arabian Islands.

It is thought that both Canerio and Ruysch, in placing the Mascarene Islands under Arabian names in their supposed situations, had received information concerning them from Portuguese sailors after their return from the first voyages into the Indian Ocean; for at the period that the chart and the map were made "these seas were only known from the accounts of the Arabians, with whom the Portuguese communicated on the south-east of Africa."[4] We know that the Arabs and the Persians had intimate knowledge of the African coasts from very early times; and, according to a reliable authority,[5] "Eastern Africa, from Egypt to Cape Corrientes, was frequented by the Arabians in the tenth century. They established in that quarter their faith and their dominion, and gave to the nations of that country names which are retained to the present day. The cities of Melinda, Mombaza,

[1] "Discernible in the names Diu, Maldives, and similar designations." *Malte Brun*, vol. iv, p. 457.

[2] Ruysch's map, although printed in Italy, was by a German and based largely (like Waldseemuller's famous map of 1507) on Portuguese sources, which accounts for similarities between it and Canerio's chart.

[3] G. Collingridge: *Discovery of Australia*, p. 108.

[4] "The Arabs at that time knew the use of the compass and had sea charts and maps wherein the situation of countries were laid down with great accuracy. Nor were they without quadrants, with which they took the altitude of the sun and the latitude of places."—*Osorio* (trans.), vol. i, p. 53.

[5] Lardner: *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i, p. 171.

and Sofala were already flourishing in the twelfth century." The same writer continues: "Madagascar—there is reason to believe—was known and even colonized by the Arabians in an early age." This being so, there is little doubt that the Arabs were the discoverers of Mauritius and the adjoining islands of the Mascarene Group. It can scarcely be credited that their ships would have found their way to the distant parts to which they can be traced, leaving islands in the near neighbourhood of Madagascar undiscovered.

The honour of the discovery of Mauritius by Europeans is also given to Fernandes Pereira, the Portuguese pilot of the ship *Cerne*, which voyaged to Melinda in the year 1507 under the command of Alfonso Albuquerque.[1] It will be seen that the date of Pereira's coming to Mauritius nearly coincides with the date of Ruysch's map. The Arab names upon the latter, however, are a sufficient proof that Pereira's visit afforded this cosmographer no assistance; for the Portuguese pilot bestowed the name Cerne upon the island in honour of his ship; and, for at least ninety years afterwards, it was known to Europeans by that name. In 1512, the group to which Mauritius belongs was rediscovered by Pero Mascarenhas, and since that time the whole of these islands appear to have been called the Mascarene Islands.

On reaching Cerne the Portuguese, adhering to their usual custom, put on shore different animals, including hogs, goats, and fowl, so that they might multiply and supply the necessities of future voyagers—the island being uninhabited. Some writers say that they also planted European seeds and fruits. They held the island for over seventy years, but made no settlements there. For a short time it belonged to Spain; then another European power took possession of it.

ARRIVAL OF DUTCH SHIPS AT CERNE

In their second voyage to the East Indies the Dutch came to Cerne with five large ships. They arrived on the south

[1] According to M. Codine (*Memoire Geographique sur la Mer des Indes*, Paris, 1868), Réunion in all probability was discovered on the 9th of February, 1507, and called Santa-Apollonia; Mauritius and Rodriguez at some days' interval from the 9th of February, 1507.

coast on September 18th, 1598.[1] On the morning of that day they sent two sloops ashore, and a good harbour capable of holding fifty vessels was discovered.

At evening when the sloops returned to the ships the sailors brought on board eight or nine great birds and many young ones which they "took with their hands."

De Bry, who also chronicles the story of their voyage, alludes to the "Dodos" that were found in the island, and we are told that the Dutch sailors named this bird.[2]

The greater part of the ships' companies were landed on the 20th, when "the Minister of the Rear-Admiral" preached a sermon on shore and "gave thanks to God Almighty for having brought them into a harbour so much desired." It was called Warwick Haven [3] in honour of their leader.

In taking possession of Cerne for his country, Van Warwick changed its name to Mauritius in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau. During his stay in the port he put up a board or piece of wood on a tree whereon the arms of Holland, Zeeland, and Amsterdam had been carved and also the words "*Christianos Reformados*" (Reformed Christians); so that, if any should ever come into that place, they "might know that Christians had been in this island." [4] Van Warwick next singled out a large piece of ground, four times more spacious than the embankment in front of the Stadt House at Amsterdam, where he sowed fruit trees and other plants. He also left behind him "some hens and other fowl so that ships which should put into that island might find refreshment."

High mountains near the coast, sometimes hidden in mist, were thickly covered with wild trees, the wood of one species being the finest ebony—very black and as smooth as ivory. There were palms that furnished refreshment, a knot on the tops containing a juice which was white and sweet.

[1] These were Wybrant Van Warwick's ships, mentioned in a previous chapter, which, while voyaging to Java, had become separated from Admiral Vanneck's fleet in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope.

[2] According to Wallace, these birds constitute a distinct family, *Dididae* —allied to the pigeon, but very solitary. They are thought to have been exterminated before 1693.

[3] Afterwards Old Grand Port.

[4] *First Dutch Voyages to the East Indies.*

THE DODO

Among the birds most noticeable were pigeons, parrots, geese and one as big as a swan—" with crest like a friar's cowl." According to the Dutch writer, " it has but four or five black feathers, instead of wings, the tail is very short, and hath but five little grey and curled feathers." Many were killed and eaten but their flesh was not relished, for " the longer it was roasted the harder it grew," and the Dutch called them " *Walckvogel* "—disgusting or " loathsome " birds.

After leaving Warwick Haven on September 29th, 1598, Van Warwick touched at a different part of the island before finally taking his departure, and his officers entered in their journals as a useful observation the remark that the island of Mauritius " might be as commodiously visited by outward-bound ships as that of St. Helena on their return."

Forty years passed before the Dutch decided to colonize Mauritius. They came only just in time; for the French, having heard of this desirable island, sent out a ship from Dieppe to take possession of it. Francis Cauche of Rouen, who sailed in the French vessel, relates that they " arrived at the island of Diego Ruys [1] in the lat. of 20° S. and 40° E.—from Madagascar—on June 25th, 1638, and on it set up the arms of France. . . . They then proceeded to Mascarenhas [2] 2° from the Tropic of Capricorn and set up the arms of France there, likewise. After a stay of 24 hours they . . . anchored at St. Apollonia [3] . . . where they found the Dutch settled at a port at the S.E. extremity, at which place they were building a fort.[4] The next day they went to the N.W. end of the island [5] where they saw an English vessel of 500 tons and carrying 28 pieces of cannon homeward bound from Bantam laden with spices." The crew of the English ship, Cauche says, offered to help him to turn the Dutch out—a proposal which he did not think it wise to accept.[6]

[1] Diego Ruys or Rayes—Rodriguez.

[2] The Portuguese name of Mascarenhas not only was given to the whole group, but was also occasionally bestowed upon Bourbon.

[3] Sometimes Mauritius was mistakenly called St. Apollonia, but M. Codine states that Pereira first gave the name to Bourbon or Réunion.

[4] Evidently these were Gooyer's settlers at Warwick Haven (Old Grand Port).

[5] Port North-west.

[6] *Voyage of Francis Cauche of Rouen*, pp. 1, 2, and 3.

THE BLACK MAROONS

Cornelis Gooyer brought the first colonists to Warwick Haven on May 7th, 1638. Soon the Dutch had two or three small flourishing settlements in Mauritius, and a fort called Frederick Henry, the last being built on the shores of Warwick Haven. About 1640, needing slaves to cultivate their plantations, they sent a small barque over to Madagascar (where the French had also started to plant), and persuaded the Governor and another officer to seize fifty blacks for them. It was a breach of faith that proved the ruin of both colonies, for the people of Madagascar would not trust the French afterwards.[1] And the negroes that were brought to Mauritius nearly all escaped to the woods and mountains and turned maroons (or outlaws), who gave shelter to all who would join them. Henceforward, the Dutch, notwithstanding their garrison of fifty men [2] were continually exposed to their depredations. At last, in 1658, although paying crops of tobacco and indigo could be raised and ebony fetched a high price, the Dutch decided to quit the island for the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1664, they returned and resettled at Warwick Haven and a little later two other settlements were formed—one on the north-west and another at Black River. The black maroons however, who had been left in possession when the first settlement was withdrawn, remained masters of the interior, and soon began to be troublesome again. In 1694 they burned down the fort and nearly the whole of the town. In the following year the Dutch rebuilt them in stone. But the maroons renewing their attacks, and the island being visited by cyclones and floods, once more the settlers grew disheartened and for the second time the Dutch decided to withdraw the colony. By 1710 the Dutch Government and the name

[1] Flacourt.

[2] Gooyer had been succeeded in 1639 by Van der Stel, who brought other settlers to the island. (During the rule of Van der Stel, Abel Tasman, with his two ships, *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*, called at Mauritius, and from there he finally set forth, on October 8th, 1642, on his memorable voyage in which he discovered Tasmania and New Zealand.)

Mauritius were extinguished together—the latter to be revived in after years by the British.

THE FRENCH IN MAURITIUS

In 1715 Captain Dufresne, in command of the *Chasseur*, was ordered by King Louis XV to take possession of the deserted island. He arrived in September, and, landing at Port North-West, bestowed the name of Isle of France upon the island. He then left it. Five years later Louis XV conveyed it to the Company of the Indies by the name given to it by Dufresne, and in 1721 the French East India Company was instructed to make a settlement there. On September 23rd of this year the Chevalier Jean Baptiste Garnier de Fougeray arrived at Port North-West in the *Triton*, and proceeded to take formal possession of the island. This French captain carried out his orders with a great display of loyalty.

On landing he set up, in a conspicuous place, a pole forty feet high from the top of which flew the white flag of the monarchy. Near to this he placed a cross with a Latin inscription of which the following is a translation :

> " Long live Louis The Fifteenth, King of the French and of Navarre ! Let the King live for ever whose pleasure it is to unite this island to his dominions and to bestow on it the name of Isle of France ! In praise and honour of this great prince, Jean Baptiste Garnier de Fougeray, Captain of the ship *Triton* and native of the town of St. Malo in Little Brittany, erected this white standard on September 23rd, 1721, and on the 3rd of November following, with the blessing of God, set sail hence on his return to France."

In January, 1722, the Sieur de Nyon, who had been constituted Governor of the Isle of France, landed with a small band of settlers at Port South-East. He was directed to take his oath of office in the superior council of the Isle of Bourbon

(or Réunion) before taking his seat in his own council, where he was assisted by six councillors. For the first ten years the young colony had to endure many privations, both from scarcity of food and on account of the destruction of property wrought by the maroons. The tale of its woes gradually reached France and, in 1735, it was resolved to dispatch thither M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, with the title of Governor-General of the Isle of France and Bourbon. He landed on June 5th, 1735, and found the Isle of France in "as miserable condition as ever colony was and very thin of people." With a vigorous effort he put its affairs in order, and under his guiding hand the Isle of France gradually became a flourishing colony. He brought well-trained civilized negroes from Madagascar and sent them against the troublesome maroons, who were compelled to submit or quit the island. He introduced manioc from Brazil and taught the negroes how to cultivate it. Port North-West was renamed Port Louis, and on the land where he had found nothing but rude cabins he erected substantial houses and barracks, fortifications and mills. Adding to these improvements, he made quays, canals, and aqueducts, one of which carried fresh water from the river to the port and to the hospitals. He also greatly encouraged shipbuilding.

Hitherto the people in the island had not been sufficiently skilled to repair the smallest ship—now wet and dry docks were put in hand, besides pontoons, shallops, and canoes. In 1737 he launched a brigantine. In 1738 he built two good ships and towards the close of the year placed one of 500 tons upon the stocks. In four years' time the dockyards of the Isle of France could careen a ship as well as the work could be done in Europe. He was also what we should term, in these days, an Empire-builder; for, in 1742, he dispatched Lazare Picault in the tartane *L'Elizabeth* to a group of islands further north—in 6° 05′ S.—which he named Labourdonnais, and the principal island Mahé. (The French Government subsequently, in 1756, adopted for this archipelago the name of Seychelles.[1]) A little while before this, in 1739, the Governor

[1] It was captured by the British in 1810, and finally ceded to Great Britain by treaty in 1814.

returned to France on leave; a little less than two years afterwards he came back to the island, to which he finally bade adieu in 1747.

FLINDERS AND DECAEN

After the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais the Isle of France was ruled by different French Governors in succession, many of whom were notable men and advanced its prosperity, until eventually it passed into the hands of the British.

In looking down the list of these French Governors one notices, at the very end of it, the name of Charles Mathieu Isidore Decaen. To any one who has studied the lives of our great navigators, or takes an interest in the history of the sea, this name will recall the fate of Captain Matthew Flinders, who, when this Governor was in power, came to Mauritius in 1803 in a leaky ship and was very harshly treated.

Flinders had first arrived in Australia in 1795 as a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Reliance*, and from that time until he finally returned to England he had shown himself a most energetic officer, possessed of extraordinary zeal, not only in furthering exploration in every possible direction, but also in improving his skill as a seaman, so that to-day he ranks in the annals of Australian discovery second only to Cook.

When the French officers under Commodore Baudin called at Sydney in 1802, in great distress, no one showed them more hospitality than he, although it was not known then that peace had been declared between England and France. Yet when he was voyaging home in 1803 in the *Cumberland*, a little schooner of twenty-nine tons (H.M.S. *Porpoise* having been wrecked upon the Barrier Reef), taking his charts of the Australian coasts and his journals to the Admiralty, and, unaware that war had again begun, called at Mauritius for refreshment, he was treated as an impostor, his charts and log-books were seized, and he was kept there to linger out some of the best years of his life as a prisoner of war—apparently not so much by the wishes of Napoleon nor of the French nation, but simply because it suited the purpose of General

Decaen. For when, after a captivity of six years, five months and twenty-seven days Flinders at last was given his freedom, Decaen declared that it "was not in consequence of any orders from France," and at the same time refused to return to the English officer a much-prized log-book that he required to complete the story of his discoveries in Torres Strait. Although his explorations are well known to-day, in spite of Decaen's intrigues to prevent it, it is to be regretted that this fearless seaman should have fallen into the hands of an enemy who, he tells us, was prejudiced against the whole British nation [1]—an enemy who cut short his career and hastened his death.

Decaen was soon destined to meet with trouble himself, however, for the British Government had decided to send a force against the island. At this time Mauritius was a thorn in the flesh to all English sea-captains. The first ten years of the war with France had been disastrous to British trade—the value of merchant ships captured by privateers and other cruisers from this small island amounting to £2,500,000. And, even after the possessions of France in India had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, Mauritius continued to wage war vigorously against British shipping. In 1810, therefore, a formidable armament was prepared to take Mauritius. A force was landed in the island seventeen miles from Port Louis, on the morning of November 29th. On December 1st, at daybreak, the British troops moved forward, and on the 3rd General Decaen surrendered the whole of Mauritius to General Abercromby—the island being definitely ceded to Great Britain in 1815.

Eighteen years after Decaen's surrender Mrs. Hare saw Port Louis, and her journal gives an early description of the island under British rule.

[1] *Terra Australis*, vol. ii, p. 489.

CHAPTER XX

ST. HELENA DISCOVERED—NAPOLEON'S TOMB

St. Helena was discovered by the Portuguese commander, John de Nova Castella, " a very gallant gentleman " (according to Osorio), who came there on May 21st, 1502. That day having been consecrated to Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great, he named the island after her.[1] He had been to India, whither he had sailed with three ships [2] in 1501, and during his outward voyage had discovered Ascension which he named Conception.

On his return voyage into the Atlantic he came to St. Helena. Standing by itself, in the midst of such a vast ocean, the island, says Osorio, " seems to have been placed there by Providence for the reception and shelter of weather-beaten ships on their return from India."

The joy that Nova felt at having made the discovery soon gave place to sorrow for the loss of one of his ships, which went to pieces here. The undaunted mariners " drew on shore the weather-beaten sides, all the armoury and tackling, and built with the timber a chappel " [3] in a valley which at first was called Chapel Valley, but in after years was given the name of James's Valley.

Saint Helena was then uninhabited. The only animals found there were sea-fowl, seals, sea-lions, and turtle. It was covered with dense forests, the trees overhanging its cliffs to seaward and the vegetation hiding its surface beneath an evergreen mantle. But it became a valuable outpost in the hands of the Portuguese, and on their long voyages their ships

[1] Helena was a Christian and is said to have discovered at Jerusalem the cross of Our Lord. Hakluyt writes: " Helena Flavia Augusta, the heire and only daughter of Coelus, sometime the most excellent King of Britaine, the Mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith and religion, goodness and godly modestie (according to the testamonie of Eusebius), was famous in all the world."

[2] Danvers states that there were four.

[3] Danvers.

called there regularly to refresh. We are told that they "stocked the island with goats, asses, hogs and other cattel," in order that they might breed and provide the India ships with fresh meat.

The first person to take up his abode at St. Helena was Fernandez Lopez, who came in 1513. He was leader of the Portuguese renegadoes, who had deserted in India from Albuquerque to the native princes, and he again fell into this great general's power at the capture of Benastarim. Before surrendering, Rassel Khan, the Moorish commander, stipulated that the lives of the nobles should be saved, and, having secretly conveyed away one of his favourites, retired from the fort before it was yielded to avoid the shame of being present when the rest of the Portuguese were given up. The unhappy men fell at Albuquerque's feet, dreading the punishment that they knew would be theirs. He spared their lives but sentenced them to have their noses, ears, and right hands cut off, and sent them thus disfigured back to Europe. The ship in which they voyaged homewards touched at St. Helena, and Lopez begged to be allowed to remain there. The captain of the ship granted the request, and he landed with his sole companion, a faithful negro slave, who is said to have been given to him by the captain.

Lopez found the church in the valley that had been built by Nova's men, and, no doubt, he not only made it more beautiful within but also improved it outwardly. He built for himself a house and designed a garden; and his friends in Europe, having heard of his sad circumstances, "sent him roots and vegetables, fruit-trees, poultry, and birds of various kinds, and hogs and goats." [1] He then began to cultivate vegetables and to rear poultry, goats and pigs to the advantage of homeward-bound ships.

Four years later he proceeded to Portugal in accordance with an order "from the court," and went to Rome to receive absolution. It is said that he afterwards returned to St. Helena, where he lived to a good old age.[2]

[1] Danvers, vol. i, p. 252: *Lord Valentia's Travels.*
[2] Certain historians make no mention of his return, others confirm it.

THOMAS CAVENDISH AT ST. HELENA

The Portuguese determined that no other nation should learn of the whereabouts of this island, and none knew of it save themselves until the year 1588, when in the month of June, Thomas Cavendish brought the *Desire* to an anchorage there. He landed " about 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon of June 9th " and found " a marvellous faire and pleasant valley wherein divers handsome buildings were set up, especially one which was a church, tyled and whited on the outside . . . and made with a porch." At the upper end of it " was set an altar hung with painted cloth." The church " had a fair causey [i.e. causeway or pathway raised and paved with stones] leading to it ; and a frame with two bells and a cross of freestone with the date 1571 upon it." [1]

This extremely pleasant valley Cavendish found full of fruit trees and " excellent plants," which gave it the appearance of " a very fair and well cultivated garden." He saw also groves of lemon, orange, citron, pomegranates and fig-trees that " present the eye with blossoms, green fruit and ripe all at once and it is so all the year round." The reason being, we are told, that the island " standeth so neere the sun." The trees were neatly trimmed and were divided by several curious walks " overshadowed with the leaves . . . and in every void place is planted parsley, basil, fennell and many special good herbs." A sweet crystal spring diffused itself into pretty rivulets . . . refreshing every plant and tree.[2]

The Dutch and the Spaniards were the next to reach this fascinating island. A little later it seems to have been neglected, for we read that the well-kept garden was allowed to go to ruin, and the seamen who followed Cavendish do not describe Chapel Valley in his flattering terms. The Dutch took St. Helena from the Portuguese, remaining there until, in 1652, they established themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. The unoccupied island subsequently attracted the English East India Company and they formed a settlement there ; and,

[1] The frame and cross evidently had been erected by a later visitor.
[2] Hakluyt and Harris.

about ten years afterwards, obtained a charter of possession from King Charles II. English people then went to live at St. Helena and slaves were imported from Madagascar. In 1665 we find St. Helena once more in the hands of the Dutch, who, in a few short months were forced to give it back to the British. Seven years later, in 1673, through the treachery of one of the planters, the Dutch once again obtained possession of the island, but only for a short time, for it was soon afterwards captured by a squadron of English warships under Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Munden and restored to the East India Company. It is now a Crown Colony.

To those who view it from the ocean St. Helena at first sight presents a forbidding aspect, for its coast rises steeply from the waves. A perpendicular wall of rock from 600 to 1,200 feet in height faces the sea and an undulating plain interspersed with hills and valleys stretches inland, the highest point, Diana Peak, reaching a height of 2,700 feet.

James Town, off which the *Caroline* anchored, is situated upon the north-west side of the island in a deep and narrow valley. Steep precipices called Rupert's Hill and Ladder Hill border the mouth of this valley and terminate in abrupt cliffs to seaward, which, as well as the adjoining heights, are strongly fortified.

NAPOLEON'S TOMB

It will be remembered that despite the shortness of the *Caroline's* stay in port, Mrs. Hare was able to pay a visit to Napoleon's tomb, a piece of good fortune to which we owe the vivid description recorded in her journal.

On his first arrival at St. Helena Napoleon had taken up his temporary residence at a pretty villa called "The Briars." It stood a mile distant from James Town. The domain of Longwood Old House, where he closed his great and eventful career, is situated in the interior of the island amid a scene of dreary barrenness.

Longwood was the summer residence of the Lieutenant Governors of St. Helena. It is 1,762 feet above the level of the sea. Not far from the house Napoleon was buried. Both

NAPOLEON

before and after the removal of his body the tomb was visited by all who came to the island.[1] It was built in a small valley called Sane Valley, and was four miles distant from James Town by road.

Here, enclosed by a wooden palisade, and watched over by a sentry, was a small piece of rising ground nearly circular and overgrown with grass. Almost in the centre of this ground was the grave, covered with three flat, dark-coloured stones and surrounded by a high iron railing. There was no inscription nor indeed anything like a monument; some weeping willows grew within the enclosure,[2] and a row of scarlet geraniums was planted outside. The spot had been the favourite retreat of the great soldier, and he was buried there at his own request.

Nearly every voyager who called at St. Helena shortly after Napoleon's death seems to have left an account of his first resting place. Generally, there is a sameness in the manner in which the writers describe the tomb and its surroundings: how they toiled up the steep road to the beautiful vale, passed through the wicket-gate and found their way to the vault with its large, overhanging willow; but it is curious to note with what widely different feelings they gazed upon the grave, as though to each had appeared there, in a different disguise, a vision of the dead Emperor. The writings of some are pæans of praise which extol his military genius, his brilliance, and his power; while others are filled with reproach and in scathing terms denounce him as an oppressor and tyrant.

Beyond her simple tribute to his greatness Mrs. Hare says nothing of Napoleon. She has left us instead a picture of the peaceful scenery and the solitude that reigned around his burial-place. When she saw the tomb, the row of scarlet

[1] Napoleon had arrived at St. Helena on October 16th, 1815; he died at Lockwood on May 5th, 1821, and was buried there on May 9th, amid the salvoes of artillery from forts and ships.

[2] Dr. Bennet, writing in 1834, states that five willows stood there at first. Several had died before that year. "They were originally planted by Mr. Tarbut, a resident of St. Helena and former possessor of the spot . . . a number of slips from the old trees have been planted on the opposite side of the grave."

geraniums had broadened into a hedge, and beside them grew beautiful aloes. The great man still lay there, not yet resting upon French soil within the solemn shade of the dome of the Invalides. But under the open sky, in the lonely island cradled upon the deep bosom of the Atlantic, Napoleon slept in peace.

. . . . .

On November 4th the *Caroline* weighed anchor and took her departure from St. Helena. Ascension was sighted at noon on November 10th.

This isolated island, as already stated, had been discovered in 1501 and named the Island of Conception by John de Nova. It was given another name shortly afterwards by one of his countrymen, Alfonso Albuquerque, who at his coming in May, 1503, called it Ascension in his journal, and this designation it has ever since retained.

Ascension is one of the peaks of a submarine volcanic ridge which separates the northern and southern basins of the Atlantic and has an area of 38 square miles. "Like its upturned face," says a modern writer,[1] "the history of Ascension is featureless and colourless."

In olden days, however, seafarers bound to distant lands regarded this island as a last link with home. It was termed in the Atlantic—as Booby Island was afterwards termed in the Pacific—the "Sailors' Post Office," and from here many a farewell message was carried to its destination. The Dominican Father Naverette, who visited Ascension in 1673, speaks of "mariners of all nations being accustomed at that time to leave their letters sealed up in a bottle in a certain known cranny in some rock to be taken away by the first ship which passed in an opposite direction."

Ascension became a well-known rendezvous for English vessels. Here Dampier's ship *Roebuck* was stranded in 1701. The famous navigator is said to have discovered some springs in the island which are still called after him. Tradition states that he "was led to this happy discovery by following the

[1] Mrs. Gill: *Six Months in Ascension.*

SAINT HELENA

(*From Voyage auteur du monde—Lesson*)

footsteps of a wild goat when he was almost dying of thirst." In 1815 Ascension became a British possession, and, as Mrs. Hare informs us, it is noted for its huge turtle.

When she had passed Ascension the *Caroline* steered a direct course for England. For the next few weeks, doubtless, the Captain's wife looked forward eagerly to her home-coming. Her journal shows that she made her entries in it less regularly and after December 11th they ceased altogether. We bid her farewell, feeling very grateful for the pleasant sketches she has given us.

Newspapers announced the vessel's return to England, and Lloyd's notified in due form the safe arrival at Portsmouth of the ship *Caroline*, Captain Hare, from Batavia, on Friday, January 9th, 1829.

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